THE

REHEARSAL TRANSPROS'D:

Or,

Animadversions upon a Late BOOK, Intituled,

A PREFACE

SHEWING

What Grounds there are of Fears and Jealousies of Popery.

The Second Edition, Corrected.

LONDON, Printed by *A. B.* for the Assigns of *John Calvin* and *Theodore Beza*, at the Sign of the Kings Indulgence, on the South-side of the *Lake Lemane*, 1672.

3.3.9

Animadverſions upon the Preface to Biſhop Bramhall's *Vindication*, &c.

THE Author of this Preface had firſt writ a *Diſcourſe of Eccleſiaſtical Policy*; after that, *A Defence and Continuation of the Eccleſiaſtical Policy*; and there he concludes his Epiſtle to the Reader in theſe words: *But if this be the Penance I muſt undergo for the wantonneſs of my Pen, to anſwer the impertinent and ſlander Exceptions of every peeviſh and diſingenuous Caviller; Reader I am reformed from my incontinency of ſcribling, and do here heartily bid thee an Eternal Farewel.* Now this Expreſſion lies open to his own *Dilemma* againſt the Nonconformiſts confeſſing in their prayers to God ſuch heinous Enormities. For if he will not accept his own Charge, his Modeſty is all impudent and counterfeit: Or, if he will acknowledge it, why then he had been before, and did ſtill remain upon Record, the ſame lewd, wanton, and incontinent Scribler.

But however, I hoped he had been a Clergy-man of Honour, and that when herein the World and he himſelf were now ſo fully agreed in the cenſure of his Writings, he would have kept his Word; or at leaſt that his Pen would not, ſo ſoon

have created us a disturbance of the same nature, and so far manifested how indifferent he is as to the business either of Truth or Eternity. But the Author, alas, instead of his own, was fain now into *Amaryllis*'s Dilemma: I perceive the Gentleman hath travelled by his remembring *Chi lava la testa al asino perde il sapone*, and therefore hope I may without Pedantry quote the words in her own whining Italian)

S'il peccar è si dolce e'l non peccar si necessario,
O troppo imperfetta Natura che ripugnia la Legge.

O troppo dura Legge che Natura offendi.

If to scribble be so sweet, and not to scribble be so necessary;
O too frail inclination, that contradicteth Obligation:
O too severe Obligation, that offendest Inclination.

For all his Promise to waite no more, I durst always have laid Ten pound to a Crown on Natures side. And accordingly he hath now blessed us with, as he calls it, *A Preface, shewing what Grounds there are of Fears and Jealousies of Popery.*

It will not be unpleasant to hear him begin his Story. *The ensuing Treatise of Bishop* Bramhall's *being somewhat superannuated, the* Bookseller *was very sollicitous to have it set off with some Preface that might recommend it to the Genius of the Age, and reconcile it to the present juncture of Affairs.* A pretty task indeed: That is as much as to say, to trick up the good old Bishop in a yellow Coif and a Bulls-head, that he may be fit for the publick, and appear in fashion. In the mean time 'tis

what

what I always preſaged: From a Writer of Books, our Author is already dwinled to a Preface-monger, and from Prefaces I am confident he may in a ſhort time be improved to endite Tickets for the Bear-Garden. But the Bookſeller I ſee was a cunning Fellow, and knew his Man. For who ſo proper as a young Prieſt to ſacrifice to the Genius of the Age; yea, though his Conſcience were the Offering? And none more ready to nick a juncture of Affairs than a malapart Chaplain; though not one indeed of a hundred but diſlocates them in the handling. And yet our Author is very maidenly, and condeſcends to his Bookſeller not without ſome reluctance, as being, forſooth, firſt of all *none of the moſt zealous Patrons of the Preſs.*

Though he hath ſo lately forfeited his Credit, yet herein I dare believe him: For the Preſs hath ought him a ſhame a long time, and is but now beginning to pay of the Debt. The Preſs (that *villanous* Engine) invented much about the ſame time with the Reformation, that hath done more miſchief to the Diſcipline of our Church, than all the Doctrine can make amends for, 'Twas an happy time when all Learning was in Manuſcript, and ſome little Officer, like our Author, did keep the Keys of the Library. When the Clergy needed no more knowledge than to read the Liturgy, and the Laity no more Clerkſhip than to ſave them from Hanging. But now ſince Printing came into the World, ſuch is the miſchief that a Man cannot write a Book but preſently he is anſwered. Could the Preſs but once be conjured to obey only an *Imprimatur*, our Author might not diſdain *perhaps* to be one of its moſt zealous Patrons. There have been wayes found out to baniſh Miniſters, to fine not only the People, but even the Grounds and Fields where they aſſembled in Conventicles, But no

Art yet could prevent these seditious meetings of Letters. Two or three brawny Fellows in a Corner, with meer Ink and Elbow-grease, do more harm than an *hundred Systematical Divines*, with their *sweaty Preaching*. And, which is a strange thing, the very Spunges, which one would think should rather deface and blot out the whole Book, and were anciently used to that purpose, are become now the Instruments to make things legible. Their ugly Printing-Letters, that look but like so many rotten-Teeth, How oft have they been pull'd out by B. and L. the Publick-Tooth-drawers! and yet these rascally Operators of the Press have got a trick to fasten them again in a few minutes, that they grow as firm a Set, and as biting and talkative as ever. O *Printing*! how hast thou disturb'd the Peace of Mankind! that Lead, when moulded into Bullets, is not so mortal as when founded into Letters! There was a mistake sure in the Story of *Cadmus*; and the Serpents Teeth which he sowed, were nothing else but the Letters which he invented. The first Essay that was made towards this Art, was in single Characters upon Iron, wherewith of old they stigmatiz'd Slaves and remarkable Offenders; and it was of good use sometimes to brand a Schismatick. But a *bulky* Dutchman diverted it quite from its first Institution, and contriving those innumerable *Syntagmes* of Alphabets, hath pestred the World ever since with the *gross Bodies of their German Divinity*. One would have thought in Reason that a Dutchman at least might have contented himself only with the Wine-press.

But, next of all, our Author, beside his aversion from the Press, alledges, that *he is as much concerned as* De-Wit - *or any of the High and*

and Mighty Burgomasters, in matters of a closer and more comfortable importance to himself and his own Affairs. And yet whoever shall take the pains to read over his Preface, will find that it intermeddles with the King, the Succession, the Privy-Council, Popery, Atheism, Bishops, Ecclesiastical Government, and above all with Nonconformity, and *J. O.* A man would wonder what this thing should be of a *closer importance*, But being *more comfortable* too, I conclude it must be one of these three things; either his Salvation, or a Benefice, or a Female. Now as to Salvation he could not be so much concern'd for that care was over; there hath been a course taken to insure all that are on his bottom, And he is yet surer of a Benefice; or else his Patrons must be very ungrateful. He cannot have deserved less than a Prebend for his first Book, a *Sine-cure* for his second, and for this third a Rectorship, although it were that of *Malmsbury*. Why, then, of necessity it must be a Female. For that I confess might have been a sufficient excuse from writing of Prefaces, and against the importunity of the Book-seller. 'Twas fit that all business should have given place to the work of Propagation. Nor was there any thing that could more closely import him, than that the Race & Family of the Railers should be perpetuated among Mankind. Who could in Reason expect that a Man should in the same moments undertake the labour of an Author and a Father? *Nevertheless, he saith, he could not but yeild so far as to improve every fragment of time that he could get into his own disposal, to gratifie the Importunity of the Book-seller.* Was ever Civility graduated up and inhanc'd to such a value! His Mistris her self could not have endeared a Favour so nicely, nor granted it with more sweetness.

Was the Bookſeller more Impotunate, or the Author more Courteous?

The Author was the Pink of Courteſie, the Bookſeller the Bur of Importunity.

And ſo, not being able to ſhake him off, *this*, he ſaith, *hath brought forth this Preface, ſuch an one as it is; for how it will prove, he himſelf neither is, nor (till 'tis too late) ever ſhall be a competent Judge, in that it muſt be raviſh'd out of his hands before his thoughts can poſſibly be cool enough to revive or correct the Indecencies either of its ſtile or contrivance.* He is now growing a very Enthuſiaſt himſelf. No Nonconformiſt-Miniſter, as it ſeems, could have ſpoke more *extempore*. I ſee he is not ſo civil to his Readers as he was to his Bookſeller: and ſo *A. C.* and *James Collins* be gratified, he cares not how much the reſt of the World he diſobliged. Some Man that had leſs right to be faſtidious and confident, would, before he expoſed himſelf in publick, both have cool'd his Thoughts, and corrected his Indecencies: or ſhould have conſidered whether it were neceſſary or wholſome that he ſhould write at all. Forasmuch as one of the Ancient *Sophiſts* (they were a kind of Orators of his Form) kill'd himſelf with declaiming while he had a Bone in his Throat, and *J. O.* was ſtill in being. *Put up your Trumpery good noble Marqueſs.* But there was no holding him. Thus it muſt be, and no better, when a man's Fancy is up, and his Breeches are down; when the Mind and the Body make contrary Aſſignations, and he hath both a Bookſeller at once and a Miſtriſs to ſatisfie; Like *Archimedes*, into the Street he runs out naked with his Invention. And truly, if at any time, we might now pardon this Extravagance and Rapture of our Author, when he was pearch'd upon the higheſt

Pina-

Pinacle of Eccleſiaſtical Felicity, being ready at once to aſſwage his Concupiſence, and wreek his Malice.

But yet he knows not which way his Mind will work it ſelf and its thoughts. This is *Bayes* the Second. ——*'Tis no matter for the Plot*——*The Intrigo was out of his dead*——*But you'l apprehend it better when you ſee't.* Or rather, he is like *Bayes* his Actors, *that could not gueſs what humour they were to be in: whether angry, melancholly, merry, or in Love.* Nay inſomuch that he ſaith, *he is neither Prophet nor Aſtrologer enough to foretel.* Never Man certainly was ſo unaquainted with himſelf. And, indeed, 'tis part of his diſcretion to avoid his acquaintance and tell him as little of his mind as may be: for he is a dangerous fellow. But I muſt ask his pardon if I treat him too homely. It is his own fault that miſled me at firſt, by concealing his quality under ſuch vulgar comparisons as *De-Wit* and the *Burgomaſters.* I now ſee it all along; This can be noleſs a man than Prince *Volſcicius* himſelf, in diſpute betwixt his Boots which way his mind will *work it ſelf*; whether Love ſhall detain him with his *cloſer Importance*, Parthenope, *whoſe Mother, Sir, ſells Ale by the Town wall*: or Honour ſhall carry him *to head the Army that lies concealed for him at Knightsbridge*, and to incounter *J. O.*

Go on cryes Honour: tender Love ſaith Nay.
Honour aloud commands, Pluck both Boots on.
But ſafer Love doth whiſper, put on none.

And ſo now when it comes that he is *not Prophet nor Aſtrologer enough to foretel* what he will do, 'tis juſt,

For as bright Day, with black approach of Night,
Contending, makes a doubtful puzzling Light;
So does my Honour and my Love together,
Puzzle me so, I am resolv'd on neither.

Yet no Astrologer could possibly have more advantage and oportunity to make a Judgment. For he knew the very minute of the Conception of his Preface, which was immediately upon his Majesties issuing his Declaration of Indulgence to Tender Consciences. Nor could he be ignorant of the moment when it was brought forth. And I can so far refresh his memory, that it came out in the Dog-dayes,

———*the Season hot, and She too near: O mighty Love!* J. O. *will be undone*, According to the Rule in *Davenant's Ephemerides*; *But the heads which at this moment, and under the present Schemes and Aspects of the Heavens he intends to treat of* (pure Sidropdel) *are these two: First, Something of the Treatise it self. Secondly, of the seasonableness of its publication! and this, unless his Humour jade him* ('tis come to a Dog-trot already) *will lead him further into the Argument as it relates to the present state of things, and from thence 'tis odds but he shall take occasion to bestow some Animadversions upon one J. O.* There's no trusting him. He doubtless knew from the beginning what he intended. And so too all his story of the Bookseller, and all the *Volo Nola's*, and *shall-I shall-I's* betwixt them, was nothing but fooling: And he now all along owns himself to be the Publisher, and alledges the slighter and the main reasons that induced him. Would he had told us so at first; for then he had saved me thus much of my labour. Though as it chances, it lights not amiss on our Author, whose delicate stomach could not brook that

that *J. O.* ſhould ſay, *he had prevailed with himſelf, much againſt his inclination, to beſtow a few (and thoſe idle) hours upon examining his Book*: and yet he himſelf ſtumbles ſo notoriouſly upon the very ſame Fault at his own threſhold,

But now from this Preamble he falls into his Peface to Biſhop *Bramhal*, though indeed like *Bays* his Prologue, that would have ſerv'd as well for an Epilogue, I do not ſee but the Preface might have paſt as well for a Poſtſcript, or the headſtal for a Crooper. And our Authors *Divinity* might have gone to *Puſh-Pin* with the Biſhop, which of their two Treatiſes was the *Procatarctical Cauſe* of both their Edition. For, as they are coupled together, to ſay the Truth, 'tis not diſcernable, as in ſome Animals, whether their motion begin at the head or the tail: whether the Author made his Preface for Biſhop *Bramhal's dear ſake*, or whether he publiſhed the Biſhop's Treatiſe for ſake of his own *dear Preface*. For my own part I think it reaſonable that the Biſhop and our Author, ſhould (like fair Gamſters at Leap-frog) ſtand and skip in their turns; and however our Author got it for once, yet if the Bookſeller ſhould ever be ſollicitous for a Second Edition, that then the Biſhops Book ſhould have the Precedence.

But before I commit my ſelf to the dangerous deps hs of his Diſcourſe, which I am now upon the brink of, I would with his leave make a motion; that inſtead of Author, I may henceforth indifferently call him Mr. *Bays* as oft as *I* ſhall ſee occaſion. And that firſt, becauſe he hath no Name or at leaſt will not own it, though he himſelf writes under the greateſt ſecurity, and gives us the firſt Letters of other Mens Names before he be asked them. Secondly, becauſe he is *I* perceive a lover of Elegancy, of Stile

and can endure no mans Tautologies but his own, and therefore I would not distast him with too frequent repetition of one word. But chiefly, because *Mr. Bayes* and he do very much Symbolize; in their understanding, in their expressions, in their humour, in their contempt and quarrelling of all others, though of their own Profession. Because, our Divine, the Author, manages his contest with the same prudence and civility, which the Players and Poets have practised of late in their several Divisions. And lastly, because both their Talents do peculiarly lye in exposing and personating the Nonconformists. I would therefore give our Author a Name, the memory of which may perpetually excite him to the exercise and highest improvement of that Virtue. For, our *Cicero* doth not yet equal our *Roscius*, and one turn of *Lacy's face* hath more *Ecclesiastical Polity* in it, than all the Books of our Author put together. Besides, to say Mr. *Bayes* is more *civil* than to say *Villain* and *Caitiff*, though these indeed are more *tuant*. And, to conclude; The Irrefragable Doctor of School-Divinity, pag. 460. of his *Defence*; determining concerning Symbollical Ceremonies, hath warranted me that not only Governours, but any thing else, may have power to appropriate new names to things, without having absolute authority over the things themselves. And therefore henceforward, seeing I am on such sure Ground, *Author*, or Mr. *Bayes*, whether I please. Now, having had our Dance, let us advance to our more serious Counsels.

And first, Our Author begins with a Panegyrick upon Bishop *Bramhal*; a Person whom my age had not given me leave to be acquainted with, nor my good fortune led me to converse with his

his Writings: but for whom I had collected a deep Reverence from the general Reputation he carried, beſide the Veneration due to the Place he filled in the Church of *England*. So that our Author having a mind to ſhew us ſome proof of his Good Nature, and that his Eloquence lay'd not all in Satyr and Invectives, could not, in my opinion, have fixed upon a fitter ſubject of commendation. And therefore, I could have wiſhed for my own ſake, that I had miſſed this occaſion of being more fully informed of ſome Biſhop's Principles, whereby I have loſt part of that pleaſure which I had ſo long enjoyed in thinking well of ſo conſiderable a Perſon. But however, I recreate my ſelf with believing that my ſimple judgment cannot, beyond my intention, abate any thing of his juſt value with others. And ſeeing he is long ſince dead, which I knew but lately, and now learn it with regret, I am the more obliged to repair in my ſelf whatſoever breaches of his Credit, by that additional Civility which conſecrates the Aſhes of the Deceaſed. But by this means I am come to diſcern how it was poſſible for our Author to ſpeak a good word for any man. The Biſhop was expired, and his Writings jump much with our Author. So that if you have a mind to dy, or to be of his Party, (there are but theſe two Conditions) you may perhaps be rendred capable of his Charity. And then write what you will, he will make you a Preface that ſhall recommend you and it to the *Genius* of the Age, and reconcile it to the Juncture of Affairs. But truly he hath acquitted himſelf herein ſo ill-favour'dly to the Biſtop, that I do not think it ſo much worth to gain his approbation; and I had rather live and enjoy mine own Opinion, than be ſo treated

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For, beside his reflection on the Bishop, and the whole Age he lived in; that *he was, as far as the prejudice of the Age would permit him, an acute Philosopher* (which is a sufficient taste of Mr. *Bays* his Arrogance, that no Man, no Age can be so perfect but must abide his Censure, and of the officious virulence of his Humour, which infuses it self, by a malignant remark, that (but for this acuter Philosopher) no man else would have thought of, into the Praises of him whom he most intended to celebrate) if, *I* say, beside this, you consider the most elaborate and studious Periods of his Commendation, you find it at best very rediculous. By the Language he seems to transcribe out of the *Grand Cyrus* and *Cassandra*, but the Exploits to have borrowed out of the *Knight of the Sun*, and *King Arthur*. For in a luscious and effeminate Stile he gives him such a *Termagant* Character, as must either fright or turn the stomach of any Reader; *Being of a brave and enterprising temper, of an active and sprightly mind, he was always busied either in contriving or performing great Designs.* Well, Mr. *Bayes*, I suppose by this, that he might have been an overmatch to the Bishop of *Cullen* and the Bishop of *Strasburg*. In another place, *He finished all the glorious* Designs *that he undertook*. This might have become the Bishop of *Munster* before he had rais'd the Siege from *Groningen*. *As he was able to accomplish the most gallant attempts, so he was always ready not only to justifie their Innocence, but to make good their* [*Bravery*.] I was too prodigal of my Bishops at first, and now have never another left in the Gazette; which is to our Authors Magazine, *His Reputation and Innocence were both Armor of Proof against Tories and Presbyterians*. But methinks Mr. *Bayes* having to do with such dangerous

Enemies,

Enemies, you should have furnished him too with some weapon of Offence, a good old Fox, like that of another Heroe, his Contemporary in *Action upon the Scene of Ireland*, of whom it was sung,

Down by his side he wore a sword of price,
Keen as a Frost, gliz'd like a new made Ice:
That cracks men hell'd in Steel in a less trice,
Than Squirrels Nuts, or the Highlanders Lice.

Then he saith; *'Tis true the Church of* Ireland *was the largest Scene of his Actions; but yet there in a little time, he wrought out such wondrous Alterations and so exceeding all belief, as may convince us that he had a mind large and active enough to have managed the Roman Empire at its greatest extent.* This indeed of our Author's is *Great*: and yet it reacheth not a strain of his fellow-Pendees in the History of the *Mogol*: where he tells *Dancehment Kan*, *When you put your foot in the Stirrop, and when you march upon Horseback in the front of the Cavalry, the Earth trembles under your feet, the eight Elephants that hold it on their heads not being able to support it.* But enough of this Trash.

Beside that it is the highest *indecorum* for a Divine to write in such a stile as this [part Play-Book and part Romance] concerning a Reverend Bishop; these improbable *Elogies* too are of the greatest disservice to their own design, and do in effect diminish alwayes the Person whom they pretend to magnifie. Any worthy Man may pass through the World unquestion'd and safe with a moderate Recommendation; but when he is thus set off, and bedawb'd with Rhetorick, and embroder'd so thick that you cannot discern the Ground, it awakens naturally

ly (and not altogether unjustly) Interest, Curiosity and Envy. For all men pretend a share in Reputation, and love not to see it ingross'd and monopoliz'd, and are subject to enquire, (as of great Estates suddenly got) whether he came by all this honestly, or of what credit the Person is that tells the Story? And the same hath happened as to this Bishop, while our Author attributes to him such Atchievments, which to one that could believe the Legend of Captain *Jones*, might not be incredble. I have heard that there was indeed such a Captain, an honest brave fellow: but a Wag that had a mind to be merry with him, hath quite spoil'd his History. Had our Author epitomiz'd the Legend of sixty six Books *de Virtutibus Sancti Patricii* (I mean not the Ingenious Writer of the *Friendly Debates*, but St, *Patrick* the Irish Bishop) he could not have promis'd us greater Miracles. And 'tis well for him that he hath escaped the fate of *Secundinus*, who (as *Jocelin* relates it) acquainting *Patrick* that he was inspired to compose something in his Commendation, the Bishop foretold the Author should dy as soon as 'twas perfected. Which so done, so happened. *I* am sure our Author had dyed no other death but of this his own *Preface*, and a surfeit upon Bishop *Bramhall*, if the swelling of Truth could have choak'd him. He tells us, *I* remember somewhere, that this same Bishop of *Derry* said, the *Scots* had a civil expression for these *Improvers of Verity*, that they are *good Company*; and *I* shall say nothing severer, than that our Author speaks the language of a Lover, and so may claim some pardon, if the habit and excess of his Courtship do as yet give a tincture to his discourse upon more ordinary Subjects. For *I* would not by any means be mistaken,

as

as if *I* thought our Author so sharp set, or so necessitated that he should make a dead Bishop his Mistress; so far from that, that he hath taken such a course, that if the Bishop were alive, he would be out of love with himself. He hath, like those frightfull Looking-glasses, made for sport, represented him in such bloated lineaments, as, *I* am confident, if he could see his face in it, he would break the Glass. For, hence it falls out too, that men seeing the Bishop surbish'd up in so martial accoutrements, like another *Odo* Bishop of *Baieux*, and having never before heard of his prowess, begin to reflect what *Giants* he defeated and what *Damsels* he rescued. Serious Men consider whether he were ingaged in the conduct of the *Irish* Army, and to have brought it over upon *England*, for the Imputation of which the Earl of *Strafford* his Patron so undeservedly suffered. But none knowes any thing of it. Others think it is not to be taken literally, but the wonderful and unheard-of Alterations that he wrought out in *Ireland*, are meant of some Reformation that he made there in things of his own Function. But then men ask again, how he comes to have all the honour of it, and whether all the while that great Bishop *Usher*, his Metropolitane, were unconcerned? For even in Ecclesiastical Combates, how instrumental soever the Captain hath been, the General usually carries away the honour of the Action. But the good *Primate* was engaged in Designs of lesser moment, and was writing his *de Primordiis Ecclesiæ Britanicæ*, and the Story of *Pelagius* our Countryman. He, honest man, was deep gone in *Grubstreet* and *Polemmical Divinity*, and troubled with Fits of *Modern Orthodoxy*. He satisfyed himself with being *admired by the blue and white Aprons, and pointed at*

by

by the more judicious Tankard-Bearers. Nay, which is worſt of all, he undertook to abate of our Epiſcopal *Grandeur*, and condeſcended indeed to reduce the Ceremonious Diſcipline in theſe Nations to the Primitive Simplicity. What then was this that Biſhop *Bramhal* did! Did he like a Proteſtant Apoſtle, in one day convert thouſands of the *Iriſh* Papiſts? The contrary is evident, by the Iriſh Rebellion and Maſſacre, which, notwithſtanding his *Publick Employment and great Abilities*, happened in his time So that after all our Authors bombaſt, when we have ſearch'd all over, we find our ſelves bilk'd in our expectation: and he hath erected him, like a St *Chriſtopher* in the Popiſh Churches, as big as ten Porters and yet only imploy'd to ſweat under the burden of an *Infant.*

All that appears of him is, firſt, that he buſied himſelf about a *Catholick Agreement among the Churches of Chriſtendom.* But as to this, our Author himſelf ſaith, that he was not *ſo vain, or ſo preſuming as to hope to ſee it affected in his days.* And yet but two pages before he told us that the *Biſhop finiſhed all the glorious deſignes which he undertook.* But this Deſign of his he draws our in ſuch a circuit of words, that 'tis better taking it from the Biſhop himſelf, who ſpeaks more plainly always and much more to the purpoſe. And he ſaith, pag. 87. of his Vindication, *My deſign is rather to reconcile the* Popiſh Party *to the* Church of England, *than the Church of* England *to the* Pope. And how he manages it, I had rather any man would learn by reading over his own Book, than that I ſhould be thought to miſrepreſent him, which I might, unleſs I tranſcribed the whole. But in ſumme it ſeems to me that he is upon his own ſingle judgment too liberal of the Publick, and that he retrenches

ches both on our part more than he hath Authority for, and grants more to the Popish than they can of right pretend to. It is however indeed a most glorious Design, to reconcile all the Churches to one Doctrine and Communion (though some that meddle in it do it chiefly in order to fetter men straighter under the formal bondage of fictitious Discipline;) but it is a thing rather to be wished and prayed for, than to be expected from these kind of endeavours. It is so large a Field, that no man can see to the end of it: and all that have adventured to travel it, have been bewildred. That Man must have a vast opinion of his own sufficiency, that can think he may by his Oratory or Reason, either in his own time, or at any of our Author's *more happy juncture of Affairs*, so far perswade and fascinate the *Roman* Church, having by a regular contexture of continued Policy for so many Ages interwoven it self with the Secular Interest, and made it self necessary to most Princes, and having at last erected a Throne of infallibility over their Consciences, as to prevail with her to submit a Power and Empire so acquired and established in Compromise to the Arbitration of an humble Proposer. God only in his own time, and by the inscrutable methods of his Providence is able to effect that *Alteration*: though I think too he hath signified in part by what means he intends to accomplish it, and to range so considerable a Church and once so exemplary, into Primitive Unity and Christian Order. In the mean time such Projects are fit for pregnant Scholars that have nothing else to do, to go big with for forty years, and may qualifie them to discourse with Princes & Statesmen at their leisure; but I never saw that they came to use or possibility, No more than that of *Alexanders* Architect,

who,

who propoſed to make him a Statue of the Mountain *Athos* (and that was no Molehil) and among other things, that Statue to carry in its hand a great habitable City. But the Surveyor was gravell'd, being asked whence that City ſhould be ſupplyed with Water. I would only have ask'd the Biſhop, when he had carv'd and hammer'd the Romiſts and Proteſtants into one *Coloſſian*-Church, how we ſhould have done as to matter of Bibles. For the Biſhop, p. 117. complains that unqualified people ſhould have a promiſcuous Licence to read the Scriptures: and you may gueſs thence, if he had moreover the Pope to friend, how the Laity ſhould have been uſed. There have been attempts in former Ages to dig through the Separating *Iſtmos* of *Peloponneſus*; and another to make communication between the *Red-Sea* and the *Mediterranean*: both more eaſie than to cut this *Eccleſiaſtick Canal*, and yet both laid by, partly upon the difficulty of doing it, and partly upon the inconveniences if it had been effected. I muſt confeſs freely, yet I ask pardon for the preſumption, that I cannot look upon theſe undertaking Church-men, however otherwiſe of excellent Prudence and Learning, but as men ſtruck with a Notio, and craz'd on that ſide of their head. And ſo I think even the Biſhop had much better have buſied himſelf in Peaching in his own Dioceſs, and diſarming the Papiſts of their Arguments, inſtead of rebating our weapons? than in taking an *Oecumenical* care upon him, which none called him to, and, as appears by the ſequel, none conn'd him thanks for. But if he were ſo great a Politicion as I have heard, and indeed believe him to have been, me-thinks he ſhould in the firſt place have contrived how we might live well with

with our Proteſtant Neighbours, and to have united us in one body under the King of *England*, as Head of the Proteſtant Intereſt, which might have rendred us more conſiderable, and put us into a more likely poſture to have reduced the Church of *Rome* to Reaſon. For the moſt leading Party of the *Engliſh* Clergy in his time retained ſuch a Pontifical ſtiffneſs towards the Foreign Divines, that it puts me in mind of *Auſtine* the Monk, when he came into *Kent*, not deigning to riſe up to the *Brittiſh* or give them the hand, and could ſcarce afford their Churches either Communion or Charity, or common Civility. So that it is not to be wondred if they alſo on their parts look'd upon our Models of Accomodation with the ſame jealouſie that the *Britiſh* Chriſtians had as *Auſtin's* Deſign, to unite them firſt to (that is under) the *Savons*, and then deliver them both over bound to the Papal Government and Ceremonies. But ſeeing hereby our hands were weakned, and there was no probability of arriving ſo near the end of the work, as to a conſent among Proteſtants abroad; had the Biſhop but gone that ſtep, to have reconciled the Eccleſiaſtical Differences in our own Nations, and that we might have ſtood firm at home before we had taken ſuch a Jump beyond-Sea, it would have been a Performance worthy of his Wiſdom. For at that time the Eccleſiaſtical Rigours here were in the higheſt ferment, and the Church in being arrayed it ſelf againſt the peaceable Diſſenters only in ſome points of Worſhip. And what great Undertaking could we be ripe for abroad, while ſo divided at home? or what fruit expected from the labour of thoſe Mediating Divines in weighty matters, who were not yet paſt Sucking-bottle; but ſeem'd to place all the buſineſs of Chriſtianity

ſtianity in perſecuting men for their Conſciences, differing from them in ſmaller matters? How ridiculous muſt we be to the Church of *Rome* to interpoſe in her Affairs, and force our Mediation upon her; when beſides our ill correſpondence with Foreign Proteſtants, ſhe muſt obſerve our weakneſs within our ſelves, that we could not, or would not ſtep over a ſtraw, though for the perpetual ſettlement and ſecurity of our Church and Nation? She might well look upon us as thoſe that probably might be forced at ſome time by our folly to call her into our aſſiſtance (for with no Weapons or Arguments but what are fetch'd out of her Arſenals, can the Ceremonial Controverſie be rightly defended) but never could ſhe conſider us as of ſuch Authority or Wiſdom, as to give Ballance to her Counſels. But this was far from Biſhop *Bramhall's* thoughts; who, ſo he might (like *Caſar*) *manage the Roman Empire at its utmoſt extent*, had quite forgot what would conduce to the Peace of his own Province and Country. For, p. 57. he ſettles this Maxime as a Truth, *That ſecond Reformations are commonly like Metal upon Metal, which is falſe Heraldry.* Where, by the way, it is a wonder that our Author in enumerating the Biſhop's perfections in Divinity, Law, Hiſtory, and Philoſophy, neglected this peculiar gift he had in Heraldry; and omitted to tell us that his Mind was large enough to have animated the Kingdoms of *Guyter* and *Clarencieux* at their greateſt dimenſions. But, beſide what I have ſaid already in relation to this Project upon *Rome*, there is this more, which I confeſs was below Biſhop *Bramhall's* reflection, and was indeed fit only for ſome vulgar Politician, or the Commiſſioners of *Scotland* about the late Union: Whether it would not have ſucceeded, as in the conſolidation of Kingdoms,

doms, where the Greateſt ſwallows down the Leſs; ſo alſo in Church-Coalition, that though the Pope had condeſcended (which the Biſhop owns to be his Right) to be only a Patriarch, yet he would have ſwoop'd up the Patriarchate of *Lambeth* to his Mornings-draught, like an Egg in Muſcadine. And then there is another Danger always when things come once to a Treaty, that beſide the debates of Reaſon, there is a better way of tampering to bring Men over that have a Power to conclude. And ſo who knows in ſuch a Treaty with *Rome*, if the *Alps* (as it is probable) would not have come over to *England*, as the Biſhop deſign'd it, *England* might not have been obliged, lying ſo commodious for Navigation, to undertake a Voyage to *Civita Vechia*. But what though we ſhould have made all the Advances imaginable, it would have been to no purpoſe: and nothing leſs than an entire and total reſignation of the Proteſtant Cauſe would have *contented* her. For the Church of *Rome* is ſo well ſatisfied of her own ſufficiency, and hath ſo much more wit than we had in Biſhop *Bramhall's* days, or ſeem to have yet learn'd; that it would have ſucceeded juſt as at the Council of *Trent*. For there, though many Divines of the greateſt Sincerity and Learning, endeavoured a Reformation, yet no more could be obtained of her than the Nonconformiſts got of thoſe of the Church of of *England* at the Conference of *Worceſter-Houſe*. But on the contrary, all her Exceſſes and Errors were further rivited and confirmed, and that great Machine of her Eccleſiaſtical Policy there perfected.

So that this Enterpriſe of Biſhop *Bramhall's*, being ſo ill laid and ſo unſeaſonable, deſerves rather an Excuſe than a Commendation. And all that can be gathered beſides out of our Author

thor concerning him is of little better value; for he saith indeed, that *he was a zealous and resolute Assertor of the Publick Rites and Solemnities of the Church.* But those things, being only matters of external neatness, could never merit the Trophies that our Author erects him. For neither can a Justice of Peace for his severity about Dirt-baskets deserve a Statue. And as for *his expunging some dear and darling Articles from the Protestant Cause*, it is, as far as *I* can perceive, only his substituting some *Arminian* Tenets (which *I* name so, not for reproach, but for difference) instead of the *Calvinian* Doctrines. But this too could not challenge all these Triumphal Ornaments in which he installs him: For, I suppose these were but meer *mistakes on either side, for want of being* (as the Bishop saith pag. 134.) *scholastically stated; and that he, with a distinction of School-Theologie, could have smoothed over and plained away these knots though they have been much harder.*

For the rest, which he leaves to seek for, and I meet casually with in the Bishop's own Book; I find him to have been doubtless a very good-natur'd Gentleman. Pag. 160. *He hath much respect for poor Readers*; and pag 161. He judges *that if they come short of Preachers in point of Efficacy, yet they have the advantage of Preachers as to point of Security.* And pag. 163. He commends the care taken by *the Canons that the meanest Cure of Souls should have formal Sermons at least four times every year.* pag. 155. He *maintains the publick Sports on the Lords-day by the Proclamation to that purpose, and the Example of the Reformed Churches beyond-Sea*: and *for the publick Dances of our Youth upon Country-Greens on Sundays, after the duties of the day, he sees nothing in them but innocent, and agreeable*

greeable to that under-foot of people. And pag. 117. (which I quoted before) he *takes the promiscuous Licence to unqualified persons to read the Scriptures, far more prejudicial, nay, more pernitious, than the over-rigorous, restraint of the Romanists.* And indeed, all along he complies much for peace-sake, and judiciously shews us wherein our seperation from the Church of *Rome* is not warrantable. But although I cannot warrant any man who hence took occasion to traduce him of Popery, the contrary of which is evident, yet neither is it to be wondred, if he did hereby lye under sometimpuration, which he might otherwise have avoided. Neither can I be so hard-hearted as our Author in the Nonconformists case of Discipline to think it were better that *he, or a hundred more Divines of his temper should suffer, though innocent, in their Reputation, than that we should come under a possibility of losing our Relgion.* For as they (the Bishop and I hope most of his Party) did not intend it so, neither could they have effected it. But he could not expect to enjoy his Imagination without the annoyances incident to such as dwell in the middle story: the Pots from above, and the smoak from below. And those Churches which are seated nearer upon the Frontire of Popery, did naturally and well if they took Alarm at the March. For, in fact, that incomparable Person *Grotius* did yet make a Bridge for the Enemy to come over; or at least laid some of our most considerable Passes open to them and unregarded: a crime something like what his Son *De Groot* (here's Gazotte again for you) and his Son-in-law *Mombas* have been charged with. And, as to the Bishop himself, his Friend; an Accusatory Spirit would desire no better play than he gives in his own Vindication, But that's neither my business nor huMour:

and

and whatsoever may have glanced upon him, was directed only to our Author; for publishing that Book, which the Bishop himself had thought fit to conceal, and for his impertinent effloresence of Rhetorick upon so mean Topicks, in so choice and copious a Subject as Bishop *Bramhal*.

Yet though the Bishop prudently undertook a Design, which he hoped not to accompliſh in his own dayes, our Author, however, was something wiser, and hath made sure to obtain his end. For the Bishop's Honour was the furthest thing from his thoughts, and he hath managed that part so, that I have accounted it a work of some Piety to vindicate his Memory from so scurvy a commendation. But the Author's end was only railing. He could never have induc'd himself to praise one man but in order to rail on another. He never oyls his Hone but that he may whet his Razor; and that not to shave, but to cut mens throats. And whoever will take the pains to compare, will find, that as it is his only end; so his best, nay his only talent is railing. So that he hath, while he pretends so much for the good Bishop, used him but for a Stalking-horse till he might come within shot of the Forreign Divines and the Non-conformists. The other was only a copy of his countenance: But look to your selves, my Masters; for in so venomous a malice, courtesie is always fatal. Under colour of some mens having taxed the Bishop, he flyes out into a furious Debauch, and breaks the Windows, if he could, would raze the foundations of all the Protestant Churches beyond Sea; but for all men at home of their perswasion, if he meet them in the dark he runs them thorow. He usurps to himself the Authority of the Church of *England*, who is so well bred, that if

if he would have allowed her to speak, she would doubtless have treated more civilly those over whom she pretends no Jurisdiction: and under the names of *Germany* and *Geneva*, he rallies and rails at the whole Protestancy of *Europe*. For you are mistaken in our Author (but I have worn him thread-bare) if you think he designs to enter the Lists where he hath but one man to combate. Mr. *Bayes* ye know, *prefers that one quality of fighting single with whole Armies, before all the moral Virtues put together.* And yet I assure you, he hath several times obliged moral Virtue so highly, that she ows him a good turn whensoever she can meet him. But it is a brave thing to be the Ecclesiastical *Draw-Can-Sir*; He kills whole Nations, he kills Friend and Foe; *Hungary*, *Transylvania*, *Bohemia*, *Poland*, *Savoy*, *France*, the *Netherlands*, *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and a great part of the Church of *England*, and all *Scotland* (for these, beside many more, he mocks under the title of *Germany* and *Geneva*) may perhaps rouse our Mastiff, and make up a Danger worthy of his Courage. A man would guess that this Gyant had promised his *Comfortable Importance*, a Simarre of the beards of all the *Orthodox Theologues* in Christendom. But I wonder how he comes to be Prolocutor of the Church of *England*! For he talks at that rate, as if he were a *Synodical Individuum*; Nay, if he had a fifth Councel in his belly he could not dictate more dogmatically. There had been indeed, as I have heard, about the dayes of Bishop *Bramhal*, a sort of Divines here of that Leaven, who being dead, I cover their names, if not for healths sake, yet for decedcy, who never could speak of the first Reformers with any patience; who pruned themselves in the peculiar Virulency of their Pens, and so they might say a tart thing concerning the Foreign Churches,

cared not what obloquy they cast upon the histo
ry, or the profession of Religion. And those me
undertook likewise to vent their Wit and the
Choler under the stile of the Church of *England*
and were indeed so far owned by her, that wh
preferments were in her own disposal, she r
ther conferred upon them. And now when the
were gone off the Stage, there is risen up th
Spiritual Mr. *Bayes*; who having assumed to him
self an incongruous Plurality of Ecclesiastical O
fices, one the most severe, of Penitentiary U
niversal to the Reformed Churches; the othe
most ridiculous, of Buffoon-General to the Churc
of *England*, may be henceforth capable of a
other Promotion. And not being content to e
joy his own folly, he has taken two others in
Partnership; as fit for his design, as those tw
that clubb'd with *Mahomet* in making the *Alcha
an*: who by perverse Wit and Representatio
might travesteere the Scripture, and render
the careful and serious part of Religion odio
and contemptible. But, lest I might be mistake
as to the Persons I mention, I will assure th
Reader that I intend not *Huddibras*: For he is
man of the other Robe, and his excelleut W
hath taken a flight far above these Whiflers: th
whoever dislikes the choice of his Subject, ca
not but commend his Performance, and calcula
if on so barren a Theme he were so copious, wh
admirable sport he would have made with an E
clesiastical Politician. But for a *Daw-Divine*
not onely to foul his own Nest in *England*, b
to pull in pieces the Nests of those beyond Se
'tis that which I think uncedent and of very ill e
ample. There is not indeed much danger, h
Book, his Letter, and his Preface being writ in E
glish, that they should pass abroad: but, if they b

printed upon incombuſtible Paper, or by reaſon of the many Avocations of our Church they may eſcape a Cenſure, yet 'tis likely they may dye at home, the common fate of ſuch Treatiſes amongſt the more judicious Oyl-men and Grocers. Unleſs Mr. *Bayes* be ſo far in love with his own Whelp, that, as a Modern Lady, he will be at the charge of tranſlating his Works into *Latin*, tranſmitting them to the Univerſities, and dedicating them in the *Vaticane*. But, ſhould they unhappily get vent abroad (as I hear ſome are already ſent over for curioſity) what ſcandal, what heart-burning and animoſity muſt it raiſe againſt our Church: unleſs they chance to take it right at firſt, and limit the Provocation within the Author. And then, what can he expect in return of his Civility, but that the Complement which paſſed betwixt *Arminius* and *Baudius* ſhould concentre upon him, that he is both *Opprobrium Academiæ*, and *Peſtis Eccleſiæ*. For they will ſee at the firſt that his Books come not out under publick Authority, or recommendation: but only as things of Buffooneſy do commonly, they carry with them their own *Imprimatur*; But I hope he hath conſidered Mr. *L.* in private, and payed his Fees.) Neither will the Gravity therefore of their Judgments take the meaſures, I hope, either of the Education at our Univerſities, or of the Spirit of our Divines, or of the Prudence, Piety, and Doctrine of the Church of *England*, from ſuch an Interlooper. Thoſe Gardens of ours uſe to bear much better fruit. There may happen ſometimes an ill Year, or there may be ſuch a Crab-ſtock as cannot by all ingrafting be corrected. But generally it proves otherwiſe. Once perhaps in a hundred years there may ariſe ſuch a Prodigy in the Univerſity (where all Men elſe learn better Arts and better Manners) and from thence may creep into the

Church (where the Teachers at leaſt ought to b
well inſtructed in the knowledge and practice
Chriſtianity) ſo prodigious a Perſon I ſay may eve
there be hatch'd, as ſhall neither know or ca
how to behave himſelf to God or Man; and wh
having never ſeen the receptacle of Grace or Co
ſcience at an Anatomical Diſſection, may conclu
therefore that there is no ſuch matter, or no ſu
obligation among Chriſtians; who ſhall perſecu
the Scripture it ſelf, unleſs it will conform to h
Interpretation; who ſhall ſtrive to put the Wor
into Blood, and animate Princes to be the Exec
tioners of their own Subjects for well-doing. A
this is poſſible; but comes to paſs as rarely and
as long Periods in our Climate, as the birth of
falſe Prophet. But unluckily, in this fatal Year
Seventy two, among all the Calamities that Aſtr
logers foretel, this alſo hath befaln us. I wou
not hereby confirm his vanity, as if I alſo belie
ed that any Scheme of Heaven did influence h
actions, or that he were ſo conſiderable as th
the Comet under which they ſay we yet labou
had fore-boded the appearance of his Preface. N
no: though he be a creature moſt noxious, y
he is more deſpicable. A Comet is of far high
quality, and hath other kind of imployment. A
though we call it an Hairy-Star, it affords
prognoſtick of what breeds there: but the
ſtrologer that would diſcern our Author and h
buſineſs, muſt lay by his Teleſcope, and uſe a M
croſcope. You may find him ſtill in Mr. *Calvi*
head. Poor Mr. *Calvin* and Biſhop *Brambal*, wh
crime did you dye guilty of, that you cannot l
quiet in your Graves, but muſt be conjured up
the Stage as oft as Mr. *Bayes* will ferret you? A
which of you two are moſt unfortunate I cann
determine; whether the Biſhop in being alway
courte

courted, or the Presbyter in being alwayes rail'd at. But in good earnest I think Mr. *Calvin* hath the better of it. For, though an ill man cannot by praising confer honour, nor by reproaching fix an ignominy, and so they may seem on equal terms; yet there is more in it: for at the same time that we may imagine what is said by such an Author to be false, we conceive the contrary to be true. What he saith of him indeed in this place did not come very well in; for *Calvin* writ nothing against Bishop *Bramhal*, and therefore here it amounts to no more than that his Spirit forsooth had propagated an original *waspishness* and false *Orthodoxy* amongst all his Followers. But if you look in other pages of his Book, and particularly Pag. 663. of his *Defence*, you never saw such a Scarcrow as he makes him. *There sprang up a mighty Bramble on the South-side the* Lake Lemane, *that (such is the rankness of the soil) spread and flourished with such a sudden growth, that partly by the industry of his Agents abroad, and partly by its own indefatigable pains and pragmaticalness it quite over-ran the whole Reformation.*---- You must conceive that Mr. *Bayes* was all this while in an Extasy in *Dodona*'s *Grove*; or else here is strange work, worse than *explicating a Post*, or *examining a Pillar*. A *Bramble* that had *Agents abroad*, and it self an *indefatigable* Bramble. But straight our Bramble is transformed to a Man, and he *makes a Chair of Infallibility for himself*, out of his own Bramble Timber. Yet all this while we know not his Name. One would suspect it might be a Bishop *Bramble*. But then *he made himself both Pope and Emperor too of the greatest part of the Reformed world*. How near does this come to his commendation of Bishop *Bramhal* before? For our Author seems copious, but is indeed very poor of expression: and, as smiling and frowning

are performed in the face with the same muscles very little altered; so the changing of a line or two in Mr. *Bayes* at any time, will make the same thing serve for a Panegyrick or a Philippick. But what do you think of this Man? Could Mistriss *Mopsa* her self have furnished you with a more pleasant and worshipful Tale? It wants nothing of perfection, but that it doth not begin with *Once upon a time?* Which Master *Bayes*, according to his Accuracy, if he had thought on't, would never have omitted. Yet some Critical People, who will exact Truth in Falshood, and tax up an old-wife's Fable to the punctuality of History, where blaming him t'other day for placing this Bramble on the South-side of the *Lake Lemane*. I said, it was well and wisely done that he chose a South Sun for the better and more sudden growth of such a Fruit-Tree. Ay, said they, but he means *Calvin* by the Bramble; and the *rank Soyl on the South-side the Lake Lemane* is the City of *Geneva*; situate (as he would have it) on the South-side of that Lake. Now it is strange that he, having travelled so well should not have observed that the Lake lies East and West, and that *Geneva* is built at the West end of it. Pish, said I, that's no such great matter, and, as Master *Bayes* hath it upon another occasion, *whether it be so or no, the fortunes of* Cæsar *and the Roman Empire are not concerned in't.* One of the Company would not let that pass, but told us if we look'd in *Cæsar*'s Commentaries, we should find their fortunes were concern'd, for it was the *Helvetian* Passage, and many mistakes might have risen in the marching of the Army. Why then, replied I again, Whether it be East, West, North, or South, there is neither *Vice* nor *Idolatry* in it, and the Ecclesiasti-

cal

al Politician may command you to believe it, and you are bound to *acquiesce* in his Judgment, whatsoever may be *your private Opinion*. Another, to continue the mirth, answered, That yet there might be some Religious Consideration in building a Town East and West, or North and South, and 'twas not a thing so indifferent as men thought it: but because in the Church of *England*, where the Table is set Altar wise, the Minister is nevertheless obliged to stand at the North-side (though it be the North-end of the Table) it was fit to place the *Geneva* Presbyter in diametrical opposition to him upon the *South-side of the Lake*. But this we all took for a cold conceit, and not enough matured. I, that was still upon the doubtful and excusing part, said, That to give the right situation of a Town, it was necessary first to know in what position the Gentleman's head then was when he made his Observation, and that might cause a great diversity, as much as this came to. Yes, replyed my next neighbour: or, perhaps some roguing Boy that managed the Puppets, turned the City wrong, and so disoccidented our Geographer. It was grown almost as good as a Play among us: and at last they all concluded that *Geneva* had *sold Mr. Bayes a Bargain*, as the *Moon* serv'd the *Earth* in the *Rehearsal*, and in good sooth had *turn'd her breech on him*. But this, I doubt not, Mr. *Bayes* will bring himself off with Honour: but that which sticks with me is, that our Author having undertaken to make *Calvin* and *Geneva* ridicule, hath not pursued it to so high a point as the Subject would have afforded. First, he might have taken the name of the beast *Calvinus*, and of that have given the Anagram, *Lucianus*. Next, I would have turn'd him inside outward, and have made him *usinulca*. That was a good Hobgoblin name to have frighted Children with.

Then

Then he should have been a *Bramble* still, ay, an *indefatigable* Bramble too: but after that he should have continued (for in such a Book a passage in a Play is clear gain, and a great loss if omitted) and upon that Bramble *Reasons grew as plentiful as Black-berries*, but both unwholesome, and they stain'd all the *white Aprons so*, that there was no getting of it out. And then, to make a fuller description of the place, he should have added; That near to the City of *roaring Lions* there was a Lake, and that Lake was all of Brimstone, but stored with over-grown Trouts, which Trouts *spawned Presbyterians*, and those *spawned* the *Millecantons* of all other Fanaticks. That this Shoal of *Presbyterians Landed at Geneva*, and devoured all the Bishops of *Geneva*'s Capons, which are of the greatest size of any in the Reformed World. And ever since their mouths have been so in relish that the Presbyterians are in all parts the very Canibals of Capons: in so much, that if Princes do not take care, the race of Capons is in danger to be totally extinquished. But that the River *Rhosne* was so *sober* and *intelligent*, that its Waters would not mix with this *Lake perillous*, but ran sheere thorow, without ever touching it: Nay, such is its apprehension lest the Lake should overtake it, that the River dives it self under ground, till the Lake hath lost the scent: and yet when it rises again, imagining that the Lake is still at its heels, it runs on so impetuously that it chuseth rather to pass through the *roaring Lions*, and never thinks it self safe till it hath taken sanctuary at the Popes Town of *Vinion*. He might too have proved that *Calvin* made himself *Pope and Emperour*, because the City of *Geneva* stamps upon its Coyn the two-headed Imperial Eagle. And, to

have

have given us the utmoſt Terror, he might have conſidered the Alliance and Vicinity of *Geneva* to the *Canton* of *Bern*, the Arms of which City is the Bear, (and an Argument in Heraldry, even Biſhop *Bramhal* himſelf being Judge, might have alſo held in Divinity) and therefore they keep under the Town-hooſe conſtantly a whole Den of Bears. So that there was never a more dangerous ſituation, nor any thing ſo carefully to be avoided by all Travellers in their wits, as *Geneva*: the *Lions* on one ſide, and the *Bears* on the other. This Story would have been Nuts to Mother Midnight, and was fit to have been imbelliſhed with Mr. *Bayes* his Allegorical Eloquence. And all that he ſaith either by fits and girds of *Calvin*, or in his juſteſt Narratives, hath leſs foundation in Nature: and is indeed twice incredible, firſt in the matter related, and then becauſe Mr. *Bayes* it comes from: or, to expreſs it ſhorter, becauſe of the Tale and the Tales man. He is not yet come to that Authority, but that his Dogmatical *Ipſe Dixits* may rather be a reaſon why we ſhould not believe him. If Maſter *Bayes* will ſpeak of Controverſy; let him enter into a regular Diſputation concerning theſe *Calvinian* Tenets, and not write an Hiſtory. Or, if he will give us the Hiſtory of *Calvin*, let him at the ſame time produce his Authors. And whether Hiſtory or Controverſy, let him be pleaſed ſo long to abate of the exuberancy of his Fancy and Wit; to diſpenſe with his Ornaments and ſuperfluencies of Invention and Satyre, and then a man may conſider whether he may believe his Story, and ſubmit to his Argument. But in the mean time (for all he pleads in pag. 97. of his *Defence*) it looks all ſo like ſubterfuge and inveagling; it is ſo nauſeating and teadious a task, that no man thinks

he owes the Author so much service as to find out the reason of his own *Categoricalness* for him. One may beat the Bush a whole day; but after so much labour shall, for all game, only spring a Butterfly, or start an Hedghog. Insomuch that I am ever and anon disputing with my self whether Mr. *Bayes* be indeed so ill-natured a person as some would have him, and do not rather innocently write these things (as he professes pag. 4. of his *Preface*) (so *exceeding all belief*, that he may make himself and the company merry. I sometimes could think that he intends no harm either to Publick or Private, but only rails contentedly to himself and his Muses; That he seeks only his own diversion, and chargeth his Gun with Wind but to shoot at the Air. Or that, like Boyes, so he may make a great Paper-Kite of his own *Letter* of 850. pages, and his *Preface* of an hundred, he hath no further design upon the Poultry of the Village. But he takes care that I shall never be long deceiv'd with that pleasing imagination: and though his Hyperboles and Impossibilities can have only a ridiculous effect, he will be sure to manifest that he had a felonious intention. He would take it ill if we should not value him as an Enemy of Mankind: and like a raging *Indian* (for in *Europe* it was never before practised) he runs a *Mucke* (as they call it there) stabbing every man he meets, till himself be knockt on the head. This here is the least pernicious of all his mischiefs: though it be no less in this and all his other Books, than to make the *German Protestancy* a reproachful Proverb, and to turn *Geneva* and *Calvin* into a Common-Place of Railing. I had always heard that *Calvin* was a good Scholar, and an honest Divine. I have indeed read that he spoke something contemptuously of our Liturgy:

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Sunt in illo Libro quædam tolerabiles ineptiæ. But that was a Sin which we may charitably suppose he repented of on his death-bed. And if Mr. *Bayes* had some just quarrel to him on that or other account, yet for *Divinitits-sake* he needed not thus have made a constant Piſſing-place of his Grave. And as for *Geneva* I never perceived before but that it was a very laudable City, that there grew an excellent Grape on the South-side of the Lake *Leman*, that a man might make good chear there, and there was a *Pallmal*, and one might ſhoot with the *Arbalet*; or play at *Courboule* on Sundayes. What was here to inrage our Author ſo that he muſt raze the Fort of St. *Katherine*, and attempt with the ſame ſucceſs a ſecond *Eſcalade*? But the difficulty of the Enterprize doubtleſs provoked his courage, and the honour he might win made the juſtice of his Quarrel. He knew that not only the Common-Wealth of *Switzerland*, but the King of *France*, the King of *Spain*, and the Duke of *Savoy* would enter the liſts for the common preſervation of the place: and therefore though it be otherwiſe but a petty Town, he diſdain'd not where the Race was to be run by Monarchs, to exerciſe his foormanſhip. But is it not a great pity to ſee a man in the flower of his age, and the vigour of his ſtudies, to fall into ſuch a diſtraction, That his head runs upon nothing but Roman Empire and Eccleſiaſtical Policy? This happens by his growing too early acquainted with *Don Quixot*, and reading the Bible too late, ſo that the firſt impreſſions being moſt ſtrong, and mixing with the laſt, as more novel, have made ſuch a medly in his brain-pan that he is become a mad Prieſt, which of all the ſorts is the moſt incurable. Hence it is that you ſhall hear

hear him anon instructing Princes, like *Sancho*, how to govern his *Island*: as he is busied at present in vanquishing the *Calvinists* of *Germany* and *Geneva*. Had he not friends to have given him good Counsel before his Understanding were quite unsettled? or if there were none near, why did not men call in the neighbours and send for the Parson of the Parish to perswade with him in time, but let it run on thus till he is fit for nothing but *Bedlam or Hogsdon?* However though it be a particular damage, it may tend to a general advantage, and young students will I hope by his example learn to beware hence-forward of over-weening Presumption and prepostrous Ambition. For this Gentleman, as I have heard, after he had read *Don Quixot* and the Bible, besides such School-Books as were necessary for his age, was sent early to the *university*: and there studied hard, and in a short time became a competent Rhetorician, and no ill Disputant. He had learnt how to erect a *Thesis*, and to defend it *Pro* or *Con* with a serviceable distinction: while the Truth (as his Camarade Mr. *Boyes* hath it on another occasion.

Before a full Pot of Ale you can swallow,
was here with a whoop and gone with a hallow,

And so thinking himself now ripe and qualified for the greatest Undertakings, and highest Fortune, he therefore exchanged the narrowness of the Universitty for the *Town*; But coming out of the confinement of the Square-cap and the Quadrangle into the open Air, the World began to turn round with him: which he imagined, though it were his own giddiness, to be nothing less than the *Quadrature* of the *Circle*. This accident concurring so happily to increase the good opinion

opinion which he naturally had of himself, he thenceforward apply'd to gain a like reputation with others. He follow'd the Town life, haunted the best companies; and, to polish himself from any Pedantick roughness, he read and saw the Playes, with much care and more proficiency than most of the Auditory. But all this while he forgot not the main-chance, but hearing of a vacancy with a Noble man, he clapp'd in, and easily obtained to be his Chaplain. From that day you may take the date of his Preferments and his Ruine. For having soon wrought himself dexterously into his Patrons favour, by short Graces & Sermons, and a mimical way of drolling upon the *Puritans*, which he knew would take both at Chappel and Table; he gained a great Authority likewise among all the domesticks. They all listened to him as an Oracle: and they allow'd him by common consent, to have not only all the *Divinity*, but more wit too, than all the rest of the family put together. This thing alone elevated him exceedingly in his own conceit, and raised his *Hypochondria* into the Region of the brain: that his head swell'd like any bladder with wind and vapour. But after he was stretch'd to such a height in his own fancy, that he could not look down from top to toe but his Eyes dazled at the Precipice of his Stature; there fell out, or in, another natural chance which push'd him headlong. For being of an amorous Complexion, and finding himself (as I told you) the *Cock-Divine* and the *Cock-wit* of the Family; he took the privilege to walk among the Hens: and thought it was now impolitick to establish his new acquired Reputation upon the Gentlewomens side. And they that perceived he was a Rising Man, and of pleasant Conversation, dividing his Day among them into

into Canonical hours, of reading now the Common-prayer, and now the Romances; were very much taken with him. The Sympathy of Silk began to ſtir and attract the Tippet to the Petticoat & the Petticoat toward the Tippet. The innocent Ladies found a ſtrange unquietneſs in their minds, and could not diſtinguiſh whether it were Love or Devotion. Neither was he wanting on his part to carry on the Work; but ſhifted himſelf every day with a clean Surplice, and, as oft as he had occaſion to bow, he directed his Reverence towards the Gentlewomens Pew. Till having before had enough of the Libertine, and undertaken his Calling only for preferment; he was tranſported now with the Sanctity of his office, even to extaſy: and like the Biſhop over *Maudlin Colledge* Altar, or like *Maudlin de la Croix*, he was ſeen in his Prayers to be lifted up ſometimes in the Air, and once particularly ſo high that he crack'd his ſcul againſt the Chappel Ceiling. I do not hear for all this that he had ever practiſed upon the Honour of the Ladies, but that he preſerved always the Civility of a *Platonick Knight-Errant*. For all this Courtſhip had no other operation than to make him ſtill more in love with himſelf: and if he frequented their company, it was only to ſpeculate his own Baby in their Eyes. But being thus, without Competitor or Rival, the Darling of both Sexes in the Family and his own Minion; he grew beyond all meaſure elated, and that crack of his Scull, as in broken Looking-Glaſſes, multipli'd him in ſelf-conceit and imagination.

Having fixed his Center in this Nobleman's Houſe, he thought he could now move and govern the whole Earth with the ſame facility. Nothing

thing now would ſerve him but he muſt be a madman in print, and write a Book of *Eccleſiaſtical Polliey*. There he diſtributes all the *Territories of Conſcience* into the Princes Province, and makes the *Hierarchy* to be but Biſhops of the Air: and talks at ſuch an extravagant rate in things of higher concernment, that the Reader will avow that in the whole diſcourſe he had not one *lucid interval*. This Book he was ſo bent upon, that he ſate up late at nights, and wanting ſleep, and drinking ſometimes Wine to animate his Fancy, it increaſ'd his Diſtemper. Beſide that too he had the misfortune to have two Friends, who being both alſo out of their wits, and of the ſame though ſomething a calmer phrenſy, ſpurr'd him on perpetually with commendation. But when his Book was once come out, and he ſaw himſelf an Author; that ſome of the Gallants of the Town layd by the new Tune and the *Tay, tay, tarry*, to quote ſome of his impertinencies; that his Title page was poſted and paſted up at every avenue next under the Play for that afternoon at the Kings or the Dukes Houſe: the Vain-Glory of this totally confounded him. He loſt all the little remains of his underſtanding, and his *Cerebellum* was ſo dryed up that there was more brrins in a Walnut and both their Shels were alike thin and brittle. The King of *France* that loſt his wits, had not near ſo many unlucky circumſtances to occaſion it: and in the laſt of all there is ſome Similitude. For, as a negligent Page that rode behind and carried the Kings Lance, let it fall on his head, the King being in Armour, and the day hot, which ſo diſordered him that he never recovered it: ſo this Gentleman, in the Dog-days, ſtragling by

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Temple-bar, in a massy Cassock and Surcingle, and taking the opportunity at once to pisse and admire the Title-page of his Book; a tall Servant of his, one *J. O.* that was not so carefull as he should be, or whether he did it of purpose, lets another book of four hundred leaves fall upon his head; which meeting with the former fracture in his *Cranium*, and all the concurrent Accidents already mentioned, has utterly undone him. And so in conclusion his Madness hath formed it self into a perfect *Lycanthropy*. He doth so severely believe himself to be a Wolf, that his speech is all turn'd into howling, yelling, and barking: and if there were any Sheep here, you should see him pull out their throats and suck the blood. Alas, that a sweet Gentleman, and so hopeful, should miscarry! for want of Cattle here, you find him raving now against all the *Calvinists* of *England*, and worrying the whole Flock of them. For how can they hope to escape his chaps and his paws better than those of *Germany* and *Geneva*; of which he is so hungry, that he hath scratch'd up even their dead bodies out of their Graves to prey upon? And yet this is nothing if you saw him in the height of his fits: but he hath so beaten and spent himself before, that he is out of breath at present; and though you may discover the same fury, yet it wants of the same vigor. But however you see enough of him, my Masters, to make you beware, I hope, of valuing too high, and trusting too far to your own Abilities.

It were a wild thing for me to *Squire* it after this *Knight*, and accompany him here through all his Extravagancies against our *Calvinists*. You find nothing but *Orthodoxy*, *Systems*,

ſtems, and *Syntagms*, *Polemical Theology*, *Subtilties* and *Diſtinctions*. *Demoſthenes*; *Tankard-bearers*; *Pragmatical*; *Controverſial*: General terms without foundation or reaſon aſſigned. That they ſeem like words of Cabal, and have no ſignificance till they be decipe.'d. Or, you would think he were playing at *Subſtantives* and *Adjectives*. And all that rationally can be gathered from what he ſaith, is, that the Man is mad. But if you would ſupply his meaning with your imagination, as if he ſpoke ſenſe and to ſome determinate purpoſe; it is very ſtrange that, conceiving himſelf to be the Champion of the Church of *England*, he ſhould bid ſuch a general defiance to the *Calviniſts*. For, he knows, or perhaps I may better ſay he did know before this Phrenſy had ſubverted both his Underſtanding and Memory, that moſt of our ancient, and many of the later Biſhops nearer our times, did both hold and maintain thoſe Doctrines which he traduces under that by-word. And the contrary Opinions were even in Biſhop *Prideaux*'s time accounted ſo novel, that, being then publick Profeſſor of *Divinity*, he thought fit to tax Doctor *Heylin* at the Commencement for his new fangled Divinity: *Cujus*, ſaith he, in the very words of promotion, *te Doctorem Creo*. He knew likewiſe that of our preſent Biſhops, though one had leiſure formerly to write a *Rationale* of the *Ceremonies* and *Liturgie*, and another a Treatiſe of the *Holineſs of Lent*; yet that moſt of them, and 'tis to be ſuppoſed all, have ſtudied other Controverſies, and at another rate than Mr. *Bayes* his Lead can fathom. And as I know none of them that hath publiſhed

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any Treatise against the *Calvinian* tenets, so I have the Honour to be acquainted with some of them who are intirely of that judgment, and differ nothing but, as of good reason, in the point of *Episcopacy*. And as for that, *Bishop Bramhal* page 61. hath proved that *Calvin* himself was of the *Episcopal* perswasion. So that I see no reason why Mr. *Bayes* should here and every where be such an enemy to *Controversial skill*, or the *Calvinists*. But I perceive 'tis for *Bishop Bramhall's* sake here that all the Tribe must suffer. This *Bayes* is not a good Dog: for he runs at a whole flock of Sheep, when Mr. B. was the Deer whom he had in view from the beginning. However having foil'd himself so long with every thing he meets, after him now he goes, and will never leave till he hath run him down. Poor Mr. B. I find that when he was a Boy, he pluck'd Bishop *Bramhall's Sloes*, and *eat his Bullices*; and now, when he is as superannuated as the Bishop's book, he must be whipp'd for't, there is no remedy. And yet I have heard, and Mr. *Bayes* himself seems to intimate as much, that how-ever he might in his younger years have mistaken, yet that even as early as Bishop *Bramhall's* Discourse, he began to retract: and that as for all his sins against the Church of *England*, he hath in some late Treatises cryed *Peccavy* with a Witness. But Mr. *Bayes* doth not this now look like *Sorcery* and *Extortion*, which of all crimes you purge your self from so often without an Accuser? For first; whereas the old Bishop was at rest, and had under his last Pillow laid by all cares and contests of this lower World; you by your *Necromancy* have disturb'd him, and rais'd his Ghost to persecute and haunt Mr. B. whom doubtless at his death he

he had pardoned. But if you called him up to ask some Questions too concerning your Ecclesiastical Policy, as I am apt to suppose, I doubt you had no better Answer than in the Song:

Art thou forlorn of God, and com'st to me?
What can I tell thee then but miserie?

And then as for Extortion; who but such an *Hebrew Jew* as you, would, after an honest man had made so full and voluntary Restitution, not yet have been satisfied without so many Pounds of his flesh over into the bargain? Though *J. O.* be in a desperate condition, yet methinks Mr. *B.* not *being past Grace*, should not neither *have been past Mercy*. Are there no terms of Pradon, Mr. *Bayes*? is there no time for Expiation; but, after so ample a confession as he hath made, must he now be hang'd too to make good the Proverb? It puts me in mind of a Story in the time of the *Guelphs* and *Ghibilines*, whom I perceive Mr. *Bays* hath heard of: They were two Factions in *Italy*, of which the *Guelphs* were for the Pope, and the *Ghibilines* for the Emperour; and these were for many years carried on and fomented with much animosity, to the great disturbance of Christendome. Which of these two were the *Nonconformists* in those days I can no more determine, than which of our Parties here at home is now *Schismatical*. But so *reconcilable* they were to one another, that the Historian said they took care to differ in the least circumstances of any humane action: and as those that have the Masons Word, secretly discern one another; so in the peeling or cutting but of an Onion, a *Guelp* and *vice versa* would at first sight have distinguished a *Ghibiline*. Now one of this latter sort coming

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at *Rome* to Confession upon *Ashwednesday*, the Pope or the Penitentiary sprinkling Ashes on the Man's head with the usual ceremony, instead of pronouncing *Memento homo quod Cinis es & in Cinerem revertêris*, changed it to *Memento homo quod Ghibilinus es, &c.* And even thus it fares with Mr. B. who though he should creep on his knees up the whole Stairs of *Scholastick Penitence*, I am confident neither he, nor any of his Party, shall by Mr. *Bayes* his good will ever be absolved. And therefore truly if I were in Mr. B's case if *I* could not have my Confession back again, yet it should be a warning unto me not without better grounds to be so coming and so good natured for the future. But whatever he do, I hope others will consider what usage they are like to find at Mr. *Bayes* hand, and not suffer themselves by the touch of his *Penitential Rod* to be transformed into Beasts, even into Rats, as here he hath done with Mr. B. *I* have indeed wondered often at this *Bayes* his insolence, who summons in all the World, and *preacheth* up only this *Repentance*: and so frequently in his Books he calls for *Testimonies*, *Signal Marks*, *Publick Acknowledgment*, *Satisfaction*, *Recantation*, and I know not what. He that hath made the passage to Heaven so easie that one may fly thither without Grace (as *Gonzales* to the Moon only by help of his *Ganſas*) he that hath *disintricated* its narrow paths from those *Labyrinths* which *J. O.* and Mr. B. have planted; this Overseer of God's High-wayes (if *I* may with reverence speak it) who hath paved a broad Causway with Moral Virtue thorow his Kingdom; he methinks should not have made the process of *Loyalty* more difficult than that of *Salvation*. What *Signal Marks*, what *Testimonies* would he have of this Conversion? Every man cannot, as he hath done write an *Ecclesiastical*

ſirſtical Policy, a *Defence*: a *Preface*: and ſome, if they could, would not do it after his manner; leaſt inſtead of obliging thereby the King and the Church, it ſhould be a Teſtimony to the contrary. Neither, unleſs men have better Principles of Allegiance at home, are they likely to be reduced by Mr. *Bayes* his way of perſwaſion. He is the firſt Miniſter of the Goſpel that ever had it in his Commiſſion *to rail at all Nations*. And, though it hath been long practiſed, I never obſerved any great ſucceſs by reviling men into *Conformity*. I have heard that *Charms* may even envite the *Moon* out of Heaven, but I never could ſee her moved by the *Rhetorick* of *barking*. I think it ought to be highly penal for any man ro impoſe other conditions upon his Majeſties good Subjects than the King expects, or the Law requires. When you have done all, you muſt yet appear before Mr. *Bayes* his Tribunal, and he hath a new Teſt yet to put you to. I muſt confeſs at this rate the *Nonconformiſts* deſerve ſome Compaſſion: that after they have done or ſuffered legally and to the utmoſt, they muſt ſtill be ſubjected to the *wand* of a *Virger*, or to the wanton laſh of every *Pedant*; that they muſt run the *Gantelope*, or down with their breeches as oft as he wants the proſpect of a more pleaſing *Nudidity*. But I think they may chuſe whether they will ſubmit or no to his Juriſdiction. Let them but (as I hope they do) fear God, honour the King, preſerve their Conſciences, follow their Trades, and look to their Chimnies; and they need not fear Mr. *Bayes* and all his Malice. But after he hath ſufficiently inſulted over Mr. B's ignorance and vanity, with other Complements of the like nature, in recompence of that *candor and civility* which he acknowledges *him to have now learnt to-*

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Church of England, Mr. *Bayes* forgeting what had past long since betwixt him and the Bookseller) saith in excuse of his severity, that *this Treatise was not published to impair Mr. B's esteem in the least but for a correction of his scribling humour, and to warn their Rat-Divines that are perpetually nibling and gnauing other mens Writings.* Now I must confess Mr. *Bayes* this is a very handsome Welcome to Mr. *B.* that was come so far to see you, and doubtless upon this encouragement he will visit you often. This is an admirable dexterity our Author hath (I wish I could learn it) *to correct a man's scribling humour without impairing in the least his reputation.* He is as courteous as Lightning, and can melt the Sword without ever hurting the Scabbard. But as for their *Rat-Divines*, I wonder they are not all poysoned with nibling at his Writings, he hath strewed so much *Arsenick* in every leaf. But however, methinks he should not not have grudged them so slender a sustenance. For though there was a Sow in *Arcadia* so fat and insensible that she suffered a Rats nest in her buttock, and they had both Dyet and Lodging in the same Gammon; yet it is not every *Rats* good fortune to be so well provided. And for *Push-pin-Divinity*, I confess it is a new term of Art, I shall henceforward take notice of it, but I am afraid in general it doth not tend much to the reputation of the Faculty.

And now, though he told us at the beginning, that the Bookseller was the main reason of publishing this Book of the Bishop and his own Preface, he tels us that the main reason of its publication was to give some check to their present disingenuity, that is to say to that of *J. O.* And *J. O.* be it at present. He is come so much nearer however to the Truth, though we shall find ere we have done that there is still a mainer reason. When

When *I* first took notice of this misunderstanding betwixt Mr. *Bayes* and J. *O* *I* considered whether it were not Execution-day with the *Latine Alphabet*: whether all the *Letters* were not to suffer in the same manner, except *C.* only, which (having been the mark of Condemnation) might have a pardon to serve for the Executioner. *I* began to repent of my Undertaking, being afraid that the Quarrel was with the whole *Cris-Cras-Row*, and that we must fight it out through all the Squadrons of the *Vowels*, the *Mutes*, the *Semi-vowels*, and the *Liquids*. *I* foresaw a sore and endless labour, and a battle the longest that ever was read of; being probable to continue as long as one *Letter* was left alive, or there were any use of Reading. Therefore, to spare mine own pains, and prevent *Ink-shed*, *I* was advising the *Letters* to go before Mr. *Bales*, or any other his Majesties Justices of the Peace, to swear that they were in danger of their *Lives*, and desire that Mr *Bayes* might be bound to the *Good-behaviour*. But after this I had another Phancy, and that not altogether unreasonable; that Mr. *Bayes* had, only for health and exercise-sake, drawn J. *O.* by chance out of the number of the rest, to try how he could rail at a *Letter*, and that he might be well in breath upon any occasion of greater consequence For, how perfect soever a man may have been in any Science, yet without continual practice he will find a sensible decay of his faculty. Hence also, and upon the same natural ground, it is the wisdom of Cats to whet their Claws against the Chairs and Hangings, in mediation of the next *Rat* they are to encounter. And *I* am confident that Mr. *Bayes* by this way hath brought himself into so good railing case, that pick what *Letter* you will out of the Alphabet, he is able to write an Epistle upon it

it of 723 pages (I have now told them right) to the Author of the *Friendly Debates*.

Now though this had very much of probability, I had yet a further Conjecture: that this *J. O.* was a *Talisman*, signed under some peculiar influence of the Heavenly bodies, and that the Fate of Mr. *Bayes* was bound up within it. Whether it be so or no I know not: but this I am assured of, without the help either of *Sydral Magick* or *Judicial Astrologie*, that when ♃ and ☌ are in *Conjunction*, they do more certainly than any of the *Planets* forbode that a great *Ecclesiastical Politician* shall that Year run mad. I confess after all this, when I was come to the dregs of my phansie (for we all have our infirmities, and Mr. *Bayes* his *Defence* was but the *blew-John* of his *Ecclesiastical Polity*, and this *Preface* the Tap-droppings of his *Defence*) I reflected whether Mr. *Bayes* having no particular cause of indignation against the Letters, there might not have been a mistake of the Printer, and that they were to be read in one word *Io* that use to go before *Pean*: that is in English a Triumph before the Victory. Or whether it alluded to *Io* that we read of at School, the Daughter of *Inachus*; and that as *Juno* persecuted the Heifer, so this was an *He-Cow*, that is to say a *Bull* to be baited by Mr. *Bayes* the *Thunderer*. But these being Conceits too trivial, though a *Ragoust* fit enough for Mr. *Bayes* his palate, I was forced moreover to quit them, remarking that it was an *J* Consonant. And I plainly at last perceived that this *J. O.* was a very Man as any of us are, and had a Head, and a Mouth with Tongue and Teeth in it, and Hands with fingers and Nails upon them: Nay, that he could read and write, and speak as well as I, or Master *Bayes*, either of us. When I once found this, the business appear'd more serious, and I was willing to see what was the matter that

so

so much exasperated Mr. *Bayes*, who is a *Person*, as he saith himself, *of such a tame and softly humour, and so cold a complexion, that he thinks himself scarce capable of hot and passionate impressions.* I concluded that necessarily there must be some extraordinary Accident and Occasion that could alter so good a Nature. For I saw that he pursued J. *O.* if not from *Post to Pillar*, yet from *Pillar to Post*, and I discerned all along the Footsteps of a most inveterate and implacable Malice. As oft as he does but name those two first Letters, he is, like the Island of *Fayal* on fire in threescore and ten places.

You see, Mr. *Bayes*, that I too have improved my wit with reading the *Gazettes*. Were you of that Fellows diet here about Town, that epicurizes upon burning Coals, drinks healths in scalding Brimstone, scraunches the Glasses for his *Desert*, and draws his breath through glowing Tobacco-pipes. Nay to say a thing yet greater; had you never tasted other sustenance than the Focus of *burning Glasses*, you could not shew more *flame* than you do alwayes upon that subject. And yet one would think that even from the *little sports*, with your *comfortable importance* after Supper, you should have learnt when J. *O.* came into play, to *love your Love* with an J. because he is *Judicious*, though you *hate your Love with an* J, because he is *jealous*: and then to *love your Love with an O.* because he is *Oraculous*, though you *hate your Love with an O.* because he is *Obscure*: Is it not strange, that in those most benign minutes of a Man's life, when the Stars smile, the Birds sing, the Winds whisper, the Fountains warble, the Trees blossom, and universal Nature seems to invite it self to the *Bridal*; when the Lion puls in his Claws & the Aspick layes by its Poyson,

and all the most noxious Creatures grow amorously innocent: that even then, Mr. *Bayes* alone should not be able to refrain his Malignity? As you love your self, *Madam*, let him not come neer you. He hath been fed all his life with Vipers insteed of Lampres, and Scorpions for Crayfish; and if at any time he eat Chickens they had been cramb'd with Spiders, till he hath so invenomed his whole substance that 'tis much safer to bed with a Mountebank before he hath taken his Antidote. But it cannot be any vulgar furnace that hath chafed so *cool* a Salamander. 'Tis not the strewing of *Cowitch* in his *Genial-Bed* that could thus disquiet him, the first night. And therefore let's take the Candle and see whether there be not some body underneath that hath cut the Bed-Cords, There was a worthy Divine, not many years dead, who in his younger time being of a facetious and unlucky humour, was commonly known by the name of *Tom Triplet*. He was brought up at *Pauls-School*, under a severe Master, Dr. *Gill*, and from thence he went to the Uuiverfity. There he took liberty (as 'tis usual with those that are emancipated from School) to tel Tales, and make the Discipline ridiculous under which he was bred. But, not suspecting the Doctor's intelligence, comming once to Town, he went in full School to give him a Visite, and expected no less than to get a *Play-day* for his former acquaintance. But, instead of that, he found himself hors'd up in a trice; though he appeal'd in vain to the Priviledges of the Universiny, pleaded *Adultus*, and invoked the mercy of the Spectators. Nor was he let down till the Master had planted a Grove of Birch in his back-side, for the Terrour and puplick Example of all Wags that divulg the

Secrets

Secrets of *Priſcian* and make merry with their Teachers. This ſtuck ſo with *Triplet*, that all his life-time he never forgave the Doctor, but ſent him every Newyears-tide an Anniverſary Ballad to a new Tune, and ſo in his turn avenged himſelf of his jerking Pedagogue.

Now when I obſerved that of late years Mr. *Bays* had regularly *ſpawned* his Books; in 1670. the *Eccleſiaſtical Policy*; in 1671. the *Defence of the Eccleſiaſtical Policy*; and now in 1672 this *Preface* to Biwop *Bramhal*, and that they were writ in a ſtile ſo vindictive and poynant, that they wanted nothing but rime to be right *Tom Triplet*; and that their edge bore always upon *J. O.* either in broad meanings or in plain terms; I begun to ſuſpect that where there was ſo great reſemblance in the Effects, there might be ſome parallel in Effects, there might be ſome parallel in their Cauſes. For though the Peeks of Players among themſelves, or of Poet againſt Poet, or of a Conformiſt-Divine againſt a Nonconformiſt, are dangerous, and of late times have cauſed great diſturbance; yet I never remarked ſo irreconcileable a ſpirit as that of Boyes againſt their Schoolmaſters or Tutors. The quarrels of their Education have an influence upon their Memories and Underſtandings for ever after. They cannot ſpeak of their Teachers with any patience or civility; and their diſcourſe is never ſo flippant, nor their Wits ſo fluent as when you put them upon that *Theme*. Nay, I have heard old *Men*, otherwiſe, ſober, peaceable and good-natured, who never could forgive *Oſbolſtone*, as the younger are ſtill inveighing againſt Dr. *Busby*. It were well that both old and young would reform this vice, and conſider how eaſy a thing it is upon particular grudges, and as they conceived out of a juſt cenſure, to ſlip either

into juvenile petulancy of inveterate uncharitableness. And had there not been something of this in his own case, I am confident Mr. *Bayes* in his *Ecclesiastical Policy*, in order to the publick peace and security of the Government, could not have failed to admonish Princes to beware of this growing evil, and to brandish the *Publick Rods* if not *the Axes* against the Boyes, to teach them better manners. And he would have assured them that they might have done it with all safety, notwithstanding that there were in proportion an hundred Boyes against one *Preceptor*. But therefore is it not possible that J. *O.* and Mr *Bayes* have known one another formerly in the University; and that (as in Seniority there is a kind of Magistracy) *Bayes* being yet young J. *O.* conceiv'd himself in those dayes to be his Superiour, and exercised an Academical Jurisdiction or Dominion over him. Now whether J. O. might not be too severe upon him there (for all men are prone to be cogent and supercilious when they are in Office) or whether Mr. *Bayes* might not make some little escapes and excursions there (as young men are apt to do when they are got together) that I know not, and rather believe the contrary. But that is certain that the young Wits in the Universities have always an animosity against the Doctors, and take a reculiar felicity in having a lucky hit at any of them. I rather suppose that after Mr *Bayes* had changed the place, and his condition, to be the Noblemans Chaplain, that he might commit some exorbitance in J. O's opinion, or preach or write something to J. O's reproach, and published the Secrets of the *Holy Brotherhood*: and that J. O. having got him within his reach, did therefore (figuratively speaking)

——*Instead of Maid Jilian*
Take up his Malepillian,
And whipt him like a baggage——

as

as *Tom Triplet* expresses it. This might well raise Mr. *Bayes* his Choler, who, considering himself to be now in Holy Orders, and conceiving that he had been as safe as in a Sanctuary under his Patrons protection, must needs take it ill to be handled so irreverently. If it were thus in Fact, and that J. *O.* might presume too much upon his former Authority to give him Correction; yet it is the more excusable, if Mr. *Bayes* had on his part been guilty of so much disingenuity. For though a man may be allowed once in his life to change his Party, and the whole Scene of his Affairs, either for his safety or preferment; nay, though every man be obliged to change an hundred times backward and forward, if his Judgment be so weak and variable; ye there are some drudgeries that no man of Honour would put himself upon, and but few submit to if they were imposed. As suppose one had thought fit to pass over from one perswasion of the Christian Religion unto another; he would not chuse to spit thrice at every Article that he relinquish'd to curse solemnly his Father and Mother for having educated him in those Opinions, to animate his pnew abquaintances to the massacring of his former Camarades. These are businesses that can only be expected from a Renegade of *Argier* or *Tunis*; to over-doe in expiation, and gain better credence of being a sincere *Mussulman*. And truly, though I can scarcely believe that Mr. *Bayes* hath so mean and desperate intentions, which yet his words seem too often to manifest the Offices howevever which he undertakes are almost as dishonourable. For he hath so studied and improved their *Jargon* as he calls it, heard their Sermons and prayers so attentively, searched the Scriptures so narrowly, that a man may justly

ſuſpect he had formerly ſet up *J. O*'s Profeſſion, and having the language ſo perfectly, hath upon *this juncture of affears* betaken himſelf to turu *Spy* and *Inteligencer*; and 'tis evident that he hath travell'd the Country for that purpoſe. So that I cannot reſemble him better than to that Politick Engine who about two years ago was employed by ſome of *Oxford* as a *Miſſionary* among the Nonconformiſts of the adjacent Counties? and, upon deſigne, either gathered a Congregation of his own, or preach'd amongſt others, till having got all their Names, he threw off the Vizard, and appear'd in his Colours, an honeſt *Informer*. But I would not have any man take Mr. *Bayes* his *Fanatical Geography* for authentick, leſt he ſhould be as far miſled, as in the ſituation of *Geneva*. It ſuffices that Mr. *Bayes* hath done therein as much as ſerved to his purpoſe, and mixed probability enough for ſuch as know not better, and whoſe ears are of a juſt bore for his fable.

But *I.O.* being of age and parts ſufficient either to manage or to neglect this Quarrel, I ſhall as far as poſſible decline the mentioning of him, ſeeing I have too upon (further intelligence and conſideration) found that he was not the perſon whom Mr. *Bayes* principally intended. For, the truth of it is, the King was the Perſon concerned from the beginning.

His Majeſty before his moſt happy and miraculous Reſtauration, had ſent over a Declaration of his Indelgence to render Conſciencee in Eccleſiaſtical Matters. Which, as it was doubtleſs the real Reſult of the laſt Advice left Him by his glorious Father, and of his own conſummate Prudence and natural Benignity; ſo at his Return he religiouſly obſerved and promoted it as far as the Paſſions and Influences of the contrary Party

ty would give leave. For, whereas among all the decent Circumſtances of his welcom Return, the Providence of God had ſo cooperated with the duty of his Subjects, that ſo glorious an Action ſhould neither be foiled with the blood of Victory, nor leſſened by any capitulations of Treaty, ſo not to be wanting on his part in courteſy, as I may ſay, to ſo happy a conjuncture, He impoſed upon himſelf an Oblivion of former offences, and his Indulgence in Eccleſiaſtical affairs. And to royal and generous minds do ſtipulations are ſo binding as their own voluntary promiſes: nor is it to be wondred if they hold thoſe Conditions that they put upon themſelves the moſt inviolable. He therefore carried the Act of Oblivion and Indempnity thorow: that Party who had ſuffered vaſtly in the late Cumbuſtions not refuſing to imitate his Generoſity, but throwing all their particular Loſſes and Reſentments into the Publick Reckoning. But when it came to the Eccleſiaſtical Part, the accompliſhment of which only remain'd behind to have perfected his Majeſty's felicity, the buſineſs I warrant you ſhould not go ſo, (as I ſhall have occaſion to ſay more particularly.) For, though I am ſorry to ſpeak it, yet it is a ſad truth, that the Animoſities and Obſtinacy of ſome of the Clergy have in all Ages been the greateſt Obſtacle to the Clemency, Prudence and good Intentions of Princes, and the Eſtabliſhment of their Affairs. His Majeſty therefore expected a better ſeaſon, and having at laſt rid himſelf of a great *Miniſter* of ſtate who had headed this Intereſt, he now proceeded plainly to recommend to his Parliment effectually and with repeated inſtances, the Conſideration of tender Conſciences. After the Kings laſt repreſenting of this

matter to the Parliament, Mr. *Bayes* took so much time as was necessary for the maturing of so accurate a Book which was to be the standard of Government for all future Ages, and he was happily delivered in 1670 of his Ecclesiastical Policy. And though he thought fit in this first Book to treat his Majesty more tenderly than in those that followed, yet even in this he doth all along use great liberty and presumption. Nor can what he objects, page 282, to weak Consciences, take place so justly upon them as upon himself: who, while his Prince might expect his Compliance, doth give him Counsel, advises him how to govern the Kingdom, blames and corrects the Laws, and tells him how this and the other might be mended. But that I may not involve the thing in generals, but represent undeniably Mr. *Bayes* his performance in this undertaking, I shall without Art write down his own words and his own *quod Scripsi Scripsi*, as they ly naked to the view of every Reader.

The grand Thesis upon which he stakes not only all his own Divinity and Policy, his Reputation, Preferment, and Conscience, of most of which he hath no reason to be prodigal; but even the Crowns and Fate of Princes, and the Liberties, Lives and Estates, and, which is more, the Consciences of their Subjects, which are too valuable to be trusted in his disposal, is this, pag. 10. *That it is absolutely necessary to the peace and government of the world, that the supream Magistrate of every Commonwealth should be vested with a power to govern and conduct the Consciences of Subjects in affairs of Religion.* And p. 12 he explains himself more fully that *unless Princes have Power to bind their Subjects to that Religion that they apprehend most advantagious to publick peace & tranquility & restrain*

those

those religious mistakes that tend to its subversion, they are no better than Statues and Images of Authority. Pag. 13. *A Prince is indued with a Power to conduct Religion, and that must be subject to his Dominion as well as all other Affairs of State.* P. 27. *If Princes should forgo their Soveraignty over mens Consciences in matter of Religion, they leave themselves less power than is absolutely necessary*, And in brief: *The supream Government of every Commonwealth, where-ever it is lodged, must of necessity be universal, absolute, and uncontroulable in all affairs whatsoever that concern the Interests of Mankind and the ends of Government.* P. 32. *He in whom the Supream Power resides, having Authority to assign to every Subject his proper function, and among others these of the Priesthood; the exercise thereof as he has power to transfer upon others, so he may if he please reserve it to himself.* P. 33. *Our Saviour came not to unsettle the Foundations of Government, but left the Government of the World in the same condition he found it*, P. 34. *The Government of Religion was vested in Princes by an antecedent right to Christ.*—This being the Magisterial and main Point that he maintains, the rest of his Assertions may be reckoned as Corollaries to this *Thesis*, and without which indeed such an unlimeted Maxime can never be justified. Therefore, to make a Conscience fit for the norse, he says, P. 89. *Men may think of things according to their own perswasions, and assert the freedom of their judgments against all the Powers of the Earth. This is the Prerogative of the Mind of Man within its own Dominions, its Kingdom is intellectual, &c. Whilst Conscience acts within its proper sphere, the Civil Power is so far from doing it violence, that it never can.* P. 92. *Mankind have the same natural right to Liberty of Conscience in matters of Religious Worship as in Affairs of Justice &*

Honesty; that is to say, a Liberty of Judgment, but not of Practice. And in the same page he determins *Christian Liberty* to be *founded upon the Reasonableness of this Principle.* P 308. *In cases and disputes of Publick concernment*, Private men are *not properly* sui Juris, *They have no power Over their own actions: they are not to be directed by their own judgments, or determined by their own wills, but by the commands and determinations of the publick Conscience; and if there be any sin in the Command, be that imposed it shall answer for it, and not I whose whole duty it is to obey. The Commands of Authority will warrant my Obedience, my Obedience will hollow, or at least excuse my action, and so secure me from sin, if not from error; and in all doubtful and disputable cases, 'tis better to err with Authority than to be in the right against it: not only because the danger of a little error (and so it is if it be disputable) is outweighed by the importance of the great duty of Obedience, &c.*

Another of his Corollaries is, *That God hath appointed* (p.80.) *the Magistrates to be his Trustees upon Earth, and his Officials to act and determin in Moral Vertues and Pious Devotions according to all accidents and emergencies of affairs: to assign new particulars of the Divine Law; to declare new bounds of right and wrong, which the Law of God neither doth nor can limit.* P. 69. *Moral Virtue being the most material and useful part of all Religion, is also the utmost end of all its other duties.* P. 76. *All Religion must of necessity be resolved into Enthusiasm or Morality. The former is meer* Imposture; *and therefore all that is true must be reduced to the latter. Having* thus enabled the Prince, dispenced with Conscience, & fitted up a Moral Religion for that Conscience; to shew how much those Moral Virtues are to be valued, P. 52. of the Preface to his *Ecclesiastical Policy* he affirms that *'tis absolutely necessary to the*

peace

peace and happiness of Kingdoms, that there be set up a more severe Government over Mens Consciences and Religious Perswasions than over their Vices and Immortallities. And Pag. 55. of the same, that *Princes may with less hazard give liberty to mens Vices and Debaucheries than their Consciences.* But for what belongs particularly to the use of their Power in Religion; he first (p.56. of his Book) saith, that *the Protestant Reformation hath not been able to resettle Princes in their full and natural rights in reference to its concerns*: p.58. *most Protestant Princes have been frighted, not to say bellor'd out of the exercise of their Ecclesiastical jurisdiction.* p. 271. *if Princes will be resolute (and if they will govern so they must be) they may easily make the most stuborn Conscience bend to their resolutions.* p.221. *Princes must be sure to bind on at first their Ecclesiastical Laws with the straighteſt knot, and afterwards keep them in force by the severity of their execution,* 223. speaking of honest and well meaning men: *So easy is it for men to deserve to be punishment for their Consciences, that there is no Nation in the world, in which were Government rightly understood and duly managed, mistakes and abuses of Religion would not supply the Galles with vastly greater numbers than Villany.* P.54. of the Preface to Eccleſiast. Policy. *Of all Villains the well-meaning Zealot is the most dangerous.* p.49. *The Fanatick-Party in Country Towns and Villages ariseth not (to speak within compass) above the proportion of one to twenty. whilst the Publick Peace and settlement is so unluckily defeated by quarrels and mutinies of Religion, to erect and create new Trading Combinations, is only to build so many Nests of Faction and Sedition,* &c. *For it is Notorious that there is not any sort of People so inclinable to Seditious practices as the Trading part of a Nation.* And now through many as material Passages

might

might be heaped up out of his Book on all those and other as tender Subjects. I shall conclude this imperfect enumeration with one Corallary more, to which indeed his grand Thesis and all the superstructures are subordinate and accommodated. P. 166. *Princes cannot pluck a pin out of the Church, but the State immediately shakes and totters.* This is the *Syntagm* of Mr. *Bayes* his Divinity, and *System* of his Policy: The Principles of which confine upon the *Territories* of *Malmsbury*, and the stile, as far as his Wit would give him leave, imitates that Language: But the Arrogance and Dictature with which he imposes it on the World, surpasses by far the presumption either of *Gondibert* or *Leviathan*. For he had indeed a very Politick fetch or two that might have made a much wiser man then he, more confident. For he imagined first of all, that he had perfectly secured himself from any mans answering him: not so much upon the true reason, that is, because indeed so paltry a Book did not deserve an Answer; as because he had so confounded the Question with differing terms and contradictory expressions, that he might upon occasion affirm whatsoever he denyed, or deny whatsoever he affirmed. And then besides, because he had so intangled the matter of Conscience with the Magistrates Power, that he supposed no man could handle it thorowly without bringing himself within the Statute of treasonable words, and at least a *Premmire*. But last of all, because he thought that whosoever answered him must for certain be of a contrary Judgment, and he that was of a contrary Judgment should be a Fanatick; and if one of them presumed to be medling, then Mr. *Bayes* (as all Divines have a *Non-obstance* to the *Jepunium Ceciltanum*, and so the *Act of Oblivion* and *Indempnity*) would either burn that, or tear

it,

it in peices. Being ſo well fortified on this ſide upon the other he took himſelf to be impregnable. His Majeſty muſt needs take it kindly that he gave him ſo great an acceſſion of *Territory*, and, leſt he ſhould not be thought rightly to underſtand Government, nay leſt Mr. *Bayes* by virtue of p. 171. ſhould not think him fit to govern, he could not in prudence and ſafety but ſubmit to his Admonition and inſtructions. But if he would not, Mr. *Bayes* knew ay that he did, how to be even with him and would write another Book that ſhould do his buſineſs. For, the ſame Power that had given the Prince that Authority could alſo revoke it.

But let us ſee therefore what ſucceſs the whole Contrivance met with, or what it deſerved. For, after things have been aid with all the depth of humhne Policy there happens lightly ſome ugly little contrary accident from ſome quarter or other of Heaven, that fruſtrates and renders all ridiculous.

And here, for brevity and diſtinction ſake, I muſt make uſe of the ſame priviledge by which I call him Mr. *Bayes*, to denominate alſo his ſeveral Aphoriſms or Hypotheſes: and let him take care whether or no they be ſignificant.

1. The *unlimited Magiſtrate.* 2. *The Publick Conſcience.* 3. *Moral Grace.* 4. *Debauchery Tolerated.* 5. *Perſecution recommended.* And laſtly, *Puſhpin Divinity.*

And now, though I intend not to be longer than the nature of *Animadverſions* requires, (this alſo being but collateral to my work of examining the Preface, and having been ſo abundantly performed already) yet neither can I proceed well without ſome Preface. For as I am obliged to ask pardon if I ſpeak of ſerious things ridiculouſly; ſo I muſt now beg excuſe if I ſhould

should hap to discourse of ridiculous things seriously. But I shall, so far as possible, observe *decorum*, and, whatever I talk of, not commit such an Absurdity, as to be grave with a Buffoon. But the principal cause of my Apology is, because I see *I* am drawn in to mention Kings and Princes, and even our own; whom, as I think with all duty and reverence, so I avoid speaking of either in jest or earnest, lest by reason of my private condition and breeding, *I* should, though most unwillingly, trip in a word, or fail in the mannerliness of an expression. But Mr. *Bayes*, because Princes sometimes hear men of his quality play their part, or preach a Sermon, grows so insolent that he thinks himself fit to be their Governour. So dangerous it is to let such creatures be too familiar. They know not their distance, and like the Ass in the Fable, because they see the Spaniel play with their Masters Leggs, they think themselves priviledged to paw and ramp upon his Shoulders. Yet though I must follow his track now I am in, I hope I shall not write after his Copy.

As for his first Hypothesis of the *unlimited Magistrate*, I must for this once do him right, that after *I* had read in his 12th. page, that *Princes have power to bind their Subjects to that Religion they apprehend most advantageous to publick Peace and Tranquility*; a long time after, not as I remember till pag. 82. when he bethought himself better, he saith, *No Rites nor Ceremonies can be esteemed unlawful in the worship of God, unless they tend to debauch men either in their practices or their conceptions of the Deity.* But no man is in Ingenuity obliged to do him that service for the future; neither yet doth that limitation bind up or interpret what he before so loosly affirmed. However take all along the Power of the Magistrate

as

as he hath ſtated it; I am confident if Biſhop *Bramhall* were alive (who could no more forbear *Grotius*, than Mr. *Bayes* could the Biſhop, notwithſtanding their friendſhip) he would beſtow the ſame Cenſure upon him that he doth upon *Grotius*, p. 18. *When I read his Book of the Right of the Soveregn Majeſtrate in Sacred things, he ſeem'd to me to come too near an Eraſtian, and to leſſen the power of the Keys too much, which Chriſt left as a legacy to his Church. It may be he did write that before he was come to full maturity of judgement: and ſome other things, I do not ſay after he was ſuperannuated. but without that due deliberation which he uſeth at other times*; (wherein a man may deſire Mr. *Bayes* in Mr. *Bayes*) *Or it it may be ſome things may be changed in his* Book, *as I have been told by one of his neareſt friends, and that we ſhall ſhortly ſee a more Authentick Edition of all his works. This is certain, that ſome of thoſe things which I diſlike, were not his own judgment after he was come to maturity in Toeological matter.* And had Mr. *Bayes* (as he ought to have done) carryed his Book to any of the preſent Biſhops or their Chaplains, for a Licence to print it, I cannot conceive that he could have obtained it in better terms than what I have collected out of the 108. page of his Anſwerer: *Notwithſtanding the old Pleas of the* Jus Divinum *of Epiſcopacy, of Example and Direction Apoſtolical of a Parity of Reaſon between the condition of the Church whilſt under Extraordinary Officers, and whilſt under Ordinary, of the power of the Church to appoint Ceremonies for Decency and Order, of the patern of the Churches of old*; (all which under Proteſtation are reſerved till the firſt oportunity.) I have upon reading of this Book, found that it may be of uſe for the *preſent Poſture of Affairs*, and therefore let it be printed.

ed. And as I think, he hath disobliged the Clergy of *England* in this matter; so I believe the favour that he doth his Majesty is not eqvivalent to that damage. For that I may, with Mr. *Bayes* his leave, prophane *Ben Johnson*, though the graveſt Divines ſhould be his Flatterers; he hath a very quick ſenſe, (ſhall I prophane *Horace* too in the ſame period?)

Hunc male ſi palpere recalcitrat undiq; tutus.

If one ſtroke him ilfavouredly, he hath a terrible way of kicking, and will fling you to the Stable-door; but is himſelf ſafe on every ſide. He knows it's all but that you may get into the Saddle again; and that the Prieſt may ride him, though it be to a Precipiece. He therefore contents himſelf with the Power that he hath inherited from his Royal Progenitors Kings and Queens of *England*, and as it is declared by Parliament, and is not to be trepann'd into another kind of Tenure of Dominion to be held at Mr. *Bayes* his pleaſure, and depend upon the ſtrength only of his Argument. But (that I may not offend in *Latin* too frequently) he conſiders that by not aſſumining a Deity to himſelf, he becomes ſecure and worthy of his Government. There are lightly about the Courts of Princes a ſort of Projectors for Concealed *Lands*, to which they entitle the King to, begg them for themſelves: and yet generally they get not much by it, but are exceeding vexatious to the Subject. And even ſuch an one is this *Bayes* with his Project of a *Concealed Power*, that moſt Princes as ee ſaith *have not yet rightly underſtood*; but whereof the King is ſo little enamour'd, that I am confident, were it not for prolling and molesting the People, his Majeſty would give Mr. *Bayes* the Patent for it, and let him make his beſt on't, after he hath paid the Fees to my *Lord Keeper*

But

But one thing I muſt confeſs is very pleaſant, and he hath paſt an high Complement upon his Majeſty in it: that he may, if he pleaſe, reſerve the Prieſt-hood and the Exerciſe of it to himſelf. Now this indeed is ſurpriſing; but this only troubles me, how his Majeſty would look in all the Sacerdotal habiliments, and the Pontifical Wardrobe. I am afraid the King would find himſelf incommoded with all that furniture upon his back, and would ſcarce reconcile himſelf to wear even the Lawn-ſleeves and the Surplice. But what: even *Charles the fifth*, as I have read, was at his Inauguration by the Pope, content to be veſted, according to the Roman Ceremonial, in the habit of a Deacon: and a man would not ſcruple too much the formality of the dreſs in order to Empire.

But one thing I doubt Mr, *Bayes* did not well conſider; that, if the King may diſcharge the Function of the Prieſt-hood, he may too(and 'tis all the reaſon in the world aſſume the Revenue. It would be the beſt Subſidy that ever was voluntarily given by the Clergy. But truly otherwiſe, I do not ſee but that the King does lead a more unblamable Converſation, and takes more care of Souls than many of them, and underſtands their office much better, and deſerves ſomething already for the pains he hath taken.

The next is *Publick Conſcience*. For as to mens private Conſciences he hath made them very inconſiderable, and reading what he ſaith of them with ſome attention, I only found this new and important Diſcovery and great Priviledge of Chriſtian Liberty, that *Thought is free*. We are however obliged to him for that, ſeeing by conſequence we think of him what we pleaſe. And this he ſaith a man may aſſert againſt all the powers of the Earth: and indeed with much reaſon and to great purpoſe; ſeeing

seeing, as he also alledges, the Civil Power is so far from doing violence to that liberty, that it never can. But yet if the freedom of thoughts be in not lying open to discovery, there have been wayes of compelling men to discover them; or, if the freedom consist in retaining their judgments when so manifested, that also hath been made penal. And I doubt not but beside *Oaths* and *Renunciations*, and *Assents* and *Consents*, Mr. *Bayes* if he were searched, hath twenty other tests and picklocks in his pocket. Would Mr. *Bayes* then perswade men to assert this against all the Powers of the Earth? I would ask in what manner? To say the truth I do not like him, and would wish the Nonconformists to be upon their guard, lest he trapan them first by this means into a Plot, and then preach, and so hang them: If Mr. *Bayes* meant otherwise in this matter, *I* confess my stupidity, and the fault is most his own, who should have writ to the capacity of vulgar Readers. He cuts indeed and faulters in this discourse, which is no good sign, perswading men that they may, and ought to practise against their Consciences, where the Commands of the Magistrate intervenes. None of them denies that it is their duty, where their Judgments or Consciences cannot comply with what is injoyned, that they ought in obedience patiently to suffer; but further they have not learned. I dare say that the Casual Divinity of the Jesuites is all thorow as Orthodox as this Maxime of our Authors: and as the Opinion is brutish, so the Consequences are Develish. To make it therefore go down more glibly, he saith, that *'tis better to err with Authority, than to be in the right against it in all doubtful disputable cases: because the great duty of Obedience outweighs the danger of a little error, (and*

little

little it is if it be disputable.) I cannot understand the truth of this reasoning; that whatsoever is disputable is little; for even the most important matters are subject to controversie: And besides, things are little or great according to the Eyes or Understandings of several men; and however, a man would suffer something rather than commit that little error against his Conscience, which must render him an Hypocrite to God, and a Knave amongst Men. *The Commands* (he saith) *and Determinations of the publick Conscience ought to carry it; and if there be any sin in the Command, he that imposed it shall answer for it, and not I whose duty it is to obey*; (And mark) *the commands of Authority will warrant my Obedience, my Obedience will hallow, or at least excuse my action, and so secure me from sin if not from error*; and so you are welcome Gentlemen. Truly a very fair and conscionable Reckoning! So far is this from hallowing the Action, that I dare say it will, if followed home, lead only to all that *sanctified Villany*, for the invention of which we are beholden to the Author. But let him have the honour of it; for he is the first Divine that ever taught Christians how another man's sin cou'd confer an *Imputative Righteousness* upon all Mankind that shall follow and comply with it. Though the Subject made me serious, yet I could not read the expression without laughter: *My Obedience will hallow, or at least excuse my Action.* So inconsiderable a difference he seems to make betwixt those terms, That if ever our Author come for his merits to be a Bishop, a man might almost adventure instead of *Consecrated* to say that he was *Excused*.

The

The third is *Moral Grace*. And whoever is not satisfied with those passages of his concerning it, before quoted, may find enough where he discourseth it at large, even to surfeit. I cannot make either less or more of it than that he overturns the whole fabrick of Christianity, and Power of Religion. For my part, if Grace be resolv'd into Mortality, I think a man may almost as well make God too to be only a Notional and Moral Existence.

And white-apron'd *Amaryllis* was of that opinion:

Ma tu Sanctissima Honestà che sola sei
D' alma ben nata inviolabil Nume.

But thou most holy Honesty, that only art the inviolable Deity of the well-born Soul.

And so too was the Mortal Poet: (for why may not I too bring out my Latin shreds as well as he is,

Quæsitum ad fontem solos deducere verpos)

Nullum Numen abest si sit Prudentia———

There is no need of a Deity where there is Prudence; or, if you will, where there is *Ecclesiastical Policy*.

But so far I must do Mr. *Bayes* right, that to my best observation, if Prudence had been God, *Bayes* had been a most damnable Atheist. Or, perhaps only an Idolater of their number, concerning whom he adds in the next line

———*sed te*
Nos

Nos facimus Fortuna Deam Cæloque locamus.

But we make thee Fortune a Goddess, and place thee in Heaven.

However I cannot but be sorry that he hath undertaken this desperate vocation, when, there are twenty other honest and painful wayes wherein he might have got a *Living*, and made Fortune propitious. But he cares not upon what Argument or how dangerous he runs to shew his ambitious Activity: whereas those that will dance upon Ropes, do lightly some time or other break their neks. And I have heard that even the *Turk*, every day he was to mount the High-Rope, took leave of his *Comfortable Importance* as if he should never see her more. But this is a matter forreign to my Judicature, and therefore I leave him to be tryed by any Jury of Divines: and, that he may have all right done him, let half of them be *School-Divines* and the other moity *Systematical*, and let him except against as many as the Law allows, and so God send him a good deliverance. But I am afraid he will never come off.

The fourth is *Debauchery tolerated.* For supposing as he does, that 'tis better and *safer to give a Toleration to mens Debaucheries than to their Religious Perswasions*, it amounts to the same reckoning. This is a very ill way of discoursing; and that a *greater severity ought to be exercised over mens Consciences than over their Vices and Immoralities.* For it argues too much indiscretion by avoiding one evil to run up into the contrary extream. And Debauch'd Persons will be ready hence to

conclude, although it be a perverse way of reasoning, That where the Severity ought to be less. the Crime is less also: nay, even that the more they are debauch'd, it is just that the Punishment should still abate in proportion; but however, that it were very imprudent and unadvisable to reform and err on the Religious hand, lest they should thereby incur the greater penalties. Mr. *Bayes* would have done much better had he singled out the Theme of Religion, He might have loaded it with all the truth which that subject would bear; *I* would allow him that *Rebellion is as the sin of witch-craft*, though that text of Scripture will scarce admit his interpretation. He could not have declaimed more sharply than I, or any honest men else, would upon occasion against all those who under pretence of Conscience raise War, or create publick Disturbances. But Comparisons of Vice are dangerous, and though he should do this without design, yet, while he aggravates upon Religion, and puts it in ballance, he doth so far alleviate and encourage Debauchery. And moreover (which to be sure is against his design) he doth hereby more confirm the austerer sort of Sinners, and furnishes them with a more specious Colour and stronger Argument. It had been better Policy to instruct the Magistrate that there is no readier way to shame these out of their Religious Niceties than by improving Mens Morals. But, as he handles it never was there any point more unseasonably exposed; at such a time, when there is so general a depravation of Manners, that even those who contribute towards it do yet complain of it; and though they cannot reform their practice, yet feel the effects, and tremble under the apprehension of the Consequences. It were easie here to shew a man's reading, and to discourse out of History

ſtory the cauſes of the decay and ruine of Mr. *Bayes* his *Roman Empire*, when as the Moraliſt has it,

——*ſævior armis*
Luxuria incubuit, Victumque ulciſcitur Orbem.

And deſcending to thoſe Times ſince Chriſtianity was in the Throne, 'tis demonſtrable that for one War upon a Fanatical or Religious account, there have been an 100. occaſioned by the thirſt of Glory & Empire that hath inflamed ſome great Prince to invade his Neighbours. And more have ſprung from the Contentiouſneſs and Ambition of ſome of the Clergy; But the moſt of all from the Corruption of Manners, and alwayes fatal Debauchery. It exhauſts the Eſtates of private perſons, and makes them fit for nothing but the High-way or an Army. It debaſes the ſpirits and weakens the vigor of any Nation; at once indiſpoſing them for War, and rendring them uncapable of Peace. For, if they eſcape inteſtine troubles, which would certainly follow when they had left themſelves by their prodigality or intemperance, no other means of ſubſiſtence but by preying upon one another; then muſt they either to get a maintenance, pick a quarrel with ſome other Nation, wherein they are ſure to be worſted; or elſe (which more frequently happens) ſome neighbouring Prince that underſtands Government takes them at the advantage, and, if they do not like ripe Fruit fall into his lap, 'tis but ſhaking the Tree once or twice, and he is ſure of them. Where the Horſes are, like thoſe of the *Sybarites*, taught to dance, the Enemy need only learn the Tune and bring the Fiddles. But therefore (as far as I underſtand) his Majeſty to obviate and prevent theſe inconveniencies in his Kingdoms, hath on the one hand never refuſed a juſt War; that ſo he might take

down our Greaſe and Luxury, and keep the *Engliſh* Courage in breath and exerciſe: and on the other, (though himſelf moſt conſtantly addicted to the Church of *England*) hath thought fit to grant ſome liberty to all other Sober People, (and longer than the are ſoy God forbid they ſhould have it) thereby to give more temper ond allay to the commhn end notorious Debauchery.

But Mr. *Bayes* nevertheleſs is for his fifth: *Perſecution recommended*: and he does it to the purpoſe. *Julian* himſelf, who I think was firſt a Reader, and held forth in the Chriſtian Churches before he turnd Apoſtate and then Perſecutor, could not have outdone him either in Irony or Cruelty. Only it is God's mercy that Mr. *Bayes* is not Emperor. You have ſeen how he inveighs againſt Trade: *That whilſt mens Conſciences are acted by ſuch peeviſh and ungovernable Principles, to erect Trading Combinations is but to build ſo many Neſts of Faction and Sedition.* Lay up your Ships, my Maſters, ſet Bills on your Shop-doors, ſhut up the Cuſtom-Houſe; and why not ajourn the Term, mure up *weſtminſter*-hall, leave Plowing and Sowing, and keep a diſmal Holy-day through the Nation; for Mr. *Bayes* is out of humour. But I aſſure you it is no jeſting matter. For he hath in one place taken a Liſt of the Fanatick Miniſters, whom he recons to be but a hundred *Syſtematical Divines*; though I believe the *Bartlemew*-Regiſter or the *March*-Licenſes would make them about an hundred and three or an hundred and four, or ſo: But this is but for rounder number and breaks no ſquare. And then for their People, either *they live in greater Societies of men* (he means the City of *London* and the other Cities and Towns-Corporate, but expreſſes it ſo to prevent ſome inconvenience that might betide him

but there their noise is greater than their number. Or else in *Country Towns and Villages, where they arise not above the proportion of one to twenty.* It were not unwisely done indeed if he could perswade the the Magistrate that all the Fanaticks have but one neck, so that he might cut off Nonconformity at one blow. I suppose the Nonconformists value themselves, though upon their Conscience, and not their Numbers: but they would do well to be watchful, lest he have taken a List of their Names as well as their Number, and have set Crosses upon all their Doors against there should be occasion. But till that *happy juncture*, when Mr. *Bayes shall be avenged of his new Enemies, the wealthy Fanaticks*, (which is soon done too, for he saith, *there are but few of them men of Estates or Interest*) he is contented that they should only be exposed (they are his own expressions) to the *Pillories, whipping-posts, Galleys, Rods* and *Axes*, and moreover and above, to all other Punishments whatsoever, provided they be of a severer nature than those that are inflicted on men for their immoralities. O more than human Clemency! I suppose the Division betwixt Immoralities and Conscience is universal; and whatsoever is wicked or penal is comprehended within their *Territories*. So that although a man should be guilty of all these heinous enormities which are not to be named among Christians, beside all lesser Peccadillo's expressly against the ten Commandments, or such other part of the Divine Law as shall be of the Magistrates making, he shall be in a better condition, and more gently handled, than a *well-meaning Zelot*; For this is the man that Mr. *Bayes* saith *is of all villains the most dangerous*: (even more dangerous it seems than a malicious and ill-meaning Zelot) this is he whom in *all Kingdoms where Government is rightly understood*, he would have con-

demned *to the Galleys for his miſtakes and abuſes of Religion.* Although the other puniſhments are more ſevere, yet this being more new and unacquainted, I cannot paſs it by without ſome reflection. For I conſidered what Princes make uſe of Galleys. The firſt that occurred to me was the *Turk*, who according to *Bayes* his maxim, hath eſtabliſhed Mahometiſm among his Subjects, as the *Religion that he apprehends moſt advantagious to publick peace and ſettlement.* Now in his Empire the Chriſtians only are guilty of thoſe *Religious miſtakes that tend to the ſubverſion of Mahometiſm:* So that he underſtands Government rightly in chaining the Chriſtians to the Car. But then in Chriſtendom, all that I could think of were the King of *France*, the King of *Spain*, the Knights of *Malta*, the *Pope*, and the reſt of the *Italian* Princes. And theſe all have bound their Subjects to the *Romiſh* Religion as moſt advantagious. But theſe people, their Gallies with Immoral Fellows and Debauchees: whereas the *Proteſtants*, being their Fanaticks and miſtakers in Religion, ſhould have been their *Turma*. But 'tis to be hoped theſe Princes will take advice and underſtand it better for the future. And then at laſt I remembred that his Majeſty too hath one Gally lately built, but I dare ſay it is not with that intention: and our Fanaticks, though few, are ſo many, that one will not ſerve. But therefore if Mr. *Bayes* and his Partners would be at the charge to build the King a whole Squadron for this uſe, I know not but it might do very well (for we delight in Novelties) and it would be a ſingular obligation to *Sir John Baptiſt Dutel*, who might have ſome pretence to be General of his Majeſties Gallies. But ſo much for that. Yet in the mean time I cannot but admire Mr. *Bayes* his courage; who knowing how dangerous a Villain a well-meaning Zelot is, and how

ing calculated to a man how many of them there are in the whole Nation, yet dares thus openly stimulate the Magistrate against them, and talk of nothing less, but much more than *Pillories*, *whipping-posts*, *Gallys* and *Axes* in this manner. It is sure some sign (and if he knew not so much he would scarce adventure) of the peaceableness of their Principles, and of that restraint under which their tender Consciences hold them, when nevertheless he may walk night and and day in safety; though it were so easie a thing to deifie the Divine after the antient manner, and no man be the wiser. But that which I confess would vex me most, were I either an ill or a well-meaning Zealot, would be, after all to hear him (as he frequently does) sneering at me in an ironical harangue, to persuade me, forsooth, to take all patiently for Conscience-sake, and the good example of Mankind: Nay, to wheedle one almost to make himself away to save the Hangman a labour. It was indeed near that pass in the Primitive times, and the tyred Magistrates ask'd them, whether they had not Halters and Rivers and Precipices, if they were so greedy of Suffering? But, by the good leave of your Insolence, we are not come to that yet. *Non tibi sed Petro*: or rather, *sed Regi*. The Nonconformists have suffered as well as any men in the World, and could do so still if it were his Majesty's pleasure. Their *Duty to God hath hallowed*, and their *Duty to the Magistrate hath excused* both their Pain and Ignominy. To dye by a noble hand is some satisfaction: But when His Majesty, for Reasons best known to Himself, hath been graciously pleased to abate of your Rigors, I hope Mr. *Bayes* that we shall not see when you have a mind to junket with your *Comfortable Importance* that the *Extremities* shall be of a Fanaticks Giblets; nor that a Nonconformists head must be whip'd off as your nose drivles. 'Tis sufficient, Sir, we know

your Inclination, we know your Abilities, and we know your Lodging: And when there is any further occasion you will doubtless be sent for. For, to say the truth, this *Bayes* is an excellent Tool, and more useful than ten other men. I will undertake that he shall, rather than fail, be the Trepanner, the Informer, the Witness, the Attorney, the Judge; and, if the Nonconformist need the benefit of his Book, he shall be Ordinary too, and say he is an ignorant fellow, *non legit*: and then, to do him the last Christian office, he would be his Hangman. In the mean time, let him enjoy it in speculation, secure of all the Imployments when they shall fall. For I know no Gentleman that will take any of them out of his hands, although it be an age wherein men cannot well support their quality, without some accession from the publick: and for the ordinary sort of People, they are, I know not by what disaster, besotted and abandon'd to Fanaticism. So that Mr. *Bayes* must either do it himself in person, or constitute the chief Magistrate to be his Deputy. But Princes do indeed understand themselves better most of 'em, and do neither think it so safe to intrust a Clergy-man with their Authority, nor decent for themselves to do the drudgery of the Clergy. That would have past in the days of Saint *Dominick*: but when even the Inquisition hath lost its edge in the Popish Countries, there is little appearance it should be set up in *England*: It were a worthy Spectacle, were it not? to see his Majesty like the Governor in *Synesius*, busied in his Cabinet among those Engines whose very names are so hard that it is some torture to name them; the *Podostrabe*, the *Dactylethræ*, the *Otagra*, the *Rhinolabides*, the *Cheilostrophia*, devising as they say there are particular Diseases, so a peculiar Rack for every Limb and Member of a Christians Body. Or, would he (with all Reverence be it spoken) exchange

change his Kingdom of *England* for that of *Macassar*? where the great *Arcanum* of Government is the cultivating of a Garden of Poysonous Plants, and preparing thence a Poyson, in which the Prince dips a Dart that where it does but draw blood, rots the person immediately to pieces; and his Office is with that to be the Executioner of his Subjects. God be prais'd his Majesty is far of another temper: and he is wise, though some men be malicious.

But Mr. *Bayes* his sixth, is that which I call his *Pulpit Divinity*. For he would perswade Princes that *there cannot a Pin be pull'd out of the Church, but the State immediatly totters.* That is strange. And yet I have seen many a Pin pulled out upon occasion, and yet not so much as the Church it self hath wagg'd. It is true indeed, and we have had sad experiments of it, that some Clergy-men have been so opiniastre that they have rather exposed the State to ruine, than they would part with a Pin, I will not say out of their Church, but out of their Sleeve. There is nothing more natural then for the Ivy to be of opinion that the Oak cannot stand without its support: or, seeing we are got into Ivy, that the Church cannot hold up longer than It underprops the Walls: whereas it is a sneaking insinuating imp, scarce better than Bindweed, that sucks the Tree dry, and mouldiers the building where it catches. But what, pray Mr. *Bayes*, is this Pin in *Pullar's* Bucklet? Why 'tis some Ceremony or other, that is *indifferent in its own nature*, that *hath no antecedent necessity but only as commanded*, that *signifies no thing in it self, but what the Commander pleases*, that even by the Church which commands it, is *declared to have nothing of Religion in it, and that it in it self of no great moment or consequence, only it is absolutely necessary that Governours should enjoyn it to avoid the evils that would follow if it were not determined.* Very well, Mr. *Bayes*. This I see will keep cold: anon perhaps I

may have a ſtomach. But I muſt take care leſt I ſwallow your Pin.

Here we have had the Titles, and ſome ſhort Rehearſal of Mr. *Bayes* his ſix Parts. Not but that, ſhould we diſvalue him, he hath to my knowledge a hundred more as good in his budget: but really I conſult mine own repoſe. But now among friends, was there ever any thing ſo monſtrous? You ſee what a man may come to with Divinity and High-feeding. There is a ſcurvy diſeaſe, which though ſome derive from *America*, others tell a ſtory that the *Genoeſs* in their Wars with *Venice* took ſome of their Noblemen, whom they cut to pieces and barrel'd up like Tunny, and ſo maliciouſly vented it to the *Venetians*, who eating it ignorantly, broke out in thoſe naſty botches and ugly ſymptoms, that are not curable but by Mercury. What I relate it for is out of no further intention, nor is there any more ſimilitude than that the mind too hath its Nodes ſometimes, and the Stile its Baboes, and that I doubt before Mr. *Bayes* can be rid of 'm, he muſt paſs through the Grand Cure and a dry Diet.

And now it is high time that I reſume the thread of my former Hiſtory concerning Mr. *Bayes* his Books in relation to his Majeſty. I do not find that the *Eccleſiaſtical Polity* found more acceptance than could be expected from ſo judicious a Prince: nor do I perceive that he was ever conſidered of at a Promotion of Biſhops, nor that he hath the reverſion of the Arch-Biſhoprick of *Canterbury*. But if he have not by Marriage barr'd his way; and it ſhould even fall to his lot, I am reſolved inſtead of *his Grace* to call him always *his Morality*. But as he got no Preferment that I know of at Court (though his Patron doubtleſs having many things in his gift, did abundantly recompence him) ſo he miſt no leſs of his aim as to the Reformation of Eccleſiaſtical-Government upon his principles. But ſtill, what he complains of pag. 20. *the Eccleſiaſtical*

Laws

Laws were either weakned through want of Execution, or in a manner cancell'd by the opposition of Civil Constitutions. For, beside what in *England*, where all things went on at the same rate, in the neighbouring Kingdom of *Scotland* there were I know not how many *Mas Johns* restored in one day to the work of their Ministry, and a door opened whereby all the rest might come in for the future, and all this by his Majesty's Commission. Nay, I think there was (a thing of very ill example) an Arch-Bishop turn'd out of his Seat for some Misdemeanor or other. I have not been curious after his name nor his crime, because as much as possible I would not expose the nakedness of any person so eminent formerly in the Church. But henceforward the King fell into disgrace with Mr. *Bayes*, and any one that had eyes might discern that our Author did not afford his Majesty that Countenance and Favour which he hath formerly enjoy'd. So that a Book too of *J. O's* happening mischievously to come out at the same season, Upon pretence of answering that, he resolved to make his Majesty feel the effects of his displeasure. So that he set Pen to Paper again, and having kept his Midwife of the *Friendly Debate* by him all the time of his pregnancy for fear of miscarrying, he was at last happily delivered of his second Child, the *Defence of the Ecclesiastical Policy*, in the year 1671. It was a very lusty Baby, and twice as big as the former, and (which some observed as an ill sign, and that if it lived it would prove a great Tyrant) it had, when born, all the Teeth, as perfect as ever you saw in any mans Head. But I do not reckon much upon those ominous criticismes. For there was partly a natural cause in it, Mr. *Bayes* having gone so many months, more than the Civil Laws allowes for the utmost term of legitimation, that it was no wonder if the Brat were at its birth more forward than others usually are. And indeed Mr. *Bayes* was so provident against abortion, and

careful for some reasons that the Child should cry, that the onely question in Town (though without much cause, for truly 'twas very like him) was, whether it was not spurious or suppositious. But Allegories and Raillery and hard words appear in this his second Book, and what I quoted before out of Bishop *Bramhal*, p. 18. with allusion to our Author, is here faln out as exactly true as if it had been expresly calculated for *Bayes* his Meridian. He finds himself to have come too near, nay to have far outgone an *Erastian*, That he had writ his Ecclesiastical Policy before he was come to maturity of Judgement, that one might desire Mr. *Bays* in Mr. *Bays*, that something had been changed in his Book. That a more authentick Edition was necessary, that some things which he had said before, were not his Judgment after he was come to maturity in Theological matters.

I will not herein too much insist upon his Reply where his Answerer asks him pertinently enough to his grand Thesis, what was then become of their old plea of *Jus Divinum*? Why, saith he, must you prescribe me what I shall write? Perhaps my next Book shall be of that Subject. For, perhaps he said so only for evasion, being old excellent at parrying and fencing. Though I have good reason to believe that we may shortly see some Piece of his upon that Theme, and in defence of an Aphorism of a great Prelate in the last King's time, *That the King had no more to do in Ecclesiastical Matters, than Jack that rubb'd his Horses heels.* For Mr. *Bayes* is so enterprising you know, *Lack too't, He do't.* He has face enough to say or unsay any thing, and 'tis his priviledge, what the School-Divines deny to be even within the power of the Almighty, to make Contradictions true. An evidence of which (though I reserve the further instances to another occasion that draws near) does plainly appear in what I now principally urge, to show how dangerous

dangerous a thing it is for his Majesty and all other Princes to lose Mr. *Hayes* his favour. For whereas he had all along in his first Book treated them like a company of Ignorants, and that did not understand Government, (but that is pardonable in Mr. *Hayes*) in this his second, now that they will not do as he would have them, when he had given them Power and Instructions how to be wiser for the future, He casts them quite off like men that were desperate. He had, you know, p. 35. of his first Book and in other places, vested them with an universal and unlimited Power, and uncontroulable in the Government of Religion (that is, over mens Consciences) but now in his second, to make them an example to all incorrigible and ungrateful persons, he strips and disrobes them again of all those Regal Ornaments that he had superinduced upon them, and leaves them good Princes in *quirpo* as he found 'm, to shift for themselves in the wide World as well as they can. Do but read his own words, p. 237. of his *Defence*, parag. 5. and sure you will be of my mind. "To vest the Supreme Magi-"strate in an unlimited and uncontroulable Power, is "clearly to defeat the Efficacy and Obligatory force of "all his Laws, that cannot possibly have any binding "virtue upon the minds of men, when they have no "other inducement to obedience but only to avoid the "penalty. But if the Supreme Power be absolute and "unlimited, it doth for that very reason remove and "evacuate all other Obligations, for otherwise it is "restrained and conditional; and if men lye under no "other impulsion than of the Law it self, they lye un-"der no other obligation than that of prudence and "self-interest, and it remains intirely in the choice of "their own discretion whether they shall or shall not "obey, and then there is neither Government nor "Obligation to Obedience; and the Principle o "mens Complyance with the mind of their Superiors

"ours; is not the declaration of their will and plea-
"sure, but purely the determination of their own
"judgments; and therefore 'tis necessary for the se-
"curity of Government, though for nothing else, to
"set bounds to its jurisdiction; Otherwise, like the
"Roman Empire, &c. I know it would be diffi-
cult to quote twenty lines in Mr. *Bayes*, but we
should encounter with the *Roman Empire*. But
observe how laboriously here he hath asserted and
proved that all he had said in his first Book was a meer
mistake before he were come to years of discretion.
For as in Law a Man is not accounted so till he hath
compleated 21, and 'tis but the last minute of that
time that makes him his own Man, (as to all things
but Conscience I mean, for as to that many are never
sui Juris) so though the distance of *Bayes* his Books
was but betwixt 1670 and 1671, yet a year, nay an
instant at any time of a man's life may make him wiser,
and he hath, like all other fruits, his annual maturity.
It was so long since as 1670. p. 33. that this *universal*
soulimited and uncontroulable Power was the natural
right of Princes antecedent to Christ, firmly established by
the unalterable Dictates of Natural Reason, universal
Practice, and consent of Nations, that the Scripture ra-
ther supposes than asserts the Ecclesiastical (and so the
Civil) *Jurisdiction of Princes.* 'Twas in 1670. p. 10.
That it was *absolutely necessary*; and p. 12. *that Princes*
have that power to bind their Subjects to that Religion
that they apprehend most advantagious to Publick
Peace, &c. So that they derive their title from Eternal
Necessity, which the Moralists say the Gods them-
selves can not impeach. His Majesty may lay by his
Dieu and make use only of his *Mon Droit*: He hath a
Patent for his Kingdom under the Broad-Seal of Na-
ture, and next under that, and immediately *before*
Christ, is over all Persons and in all Causes alwel Ec-
clesiastical as Civil (and over all mens Consciences)
within

within his Majesty's Realms and Dominions Supream Head and Governour. 'Tis true, the Author sometimes for fashion-sake speaks in that Book of Religion and of a Deity, but his Principles do necessarily, if not in terms, make the Princes Power *Paramount* to both those, and if he may by his uncontroulible and unlimited universal Authority introduce what Religion, he may of consequence what Deity also he pleases. Or, if there were no Deity, yet there must be some Religion, that being an Engine most advantagious for Publick Peace and Tranquillity. This was in 1670. But by 1671. you see the case is altered. Even one night hath made some men gray. And now p. 238. of his second Book, he hath made Princes accountable, ay and to so severe an Auditor as God himself. *The Thrones of Princes are established upon the Dominion of God* And p. 241. *'Tis no part of the Princes concernment to institute rules of Moral Good and Evil, that is the care and the Prerogative of a Superiour Law-giver.* And p. 260. he owns that if the Subjects can plead a clear and undoubted preingagement to that higher Authority, they have a liberty to *remonstrate* to the equity of their Laws. I do not like this Remonstrating nor these Remonstrants. I wish again that *Mr. Bayes* would tell us what he means by the term; and where it will end, whether he would have the Fanaticks remonstrate: but they are wary, and asham'd of what they have done in former times of that nature; or whether he himself hath a mind to remonstrate, because the Fanaticks are tolerated. That is the thing, that is the business of this whole Book: and knowing that there is a clear and undoubted preingagement to the higher Authority of Nature and Necessity, if the King will persist in tolerating these people, who knows after remonstrating, what Mr. *Bayes* will do next? But now in summe what shall we say of this man, and how had the King been served if he had followed *Bayes's* advices

and assumed the power of his first Book? He had run himself into a fine *Premunire*, when now after all he comes to be made accountable to God, nay even to his Subjects. And by this means it happens, though it were beyond Mr. *Bayes* his forcast, and I dare say he would rather have given the Prince again a power antecedent to Christ, and to bring in what Religion he please; he hath obliged him to as tender a Conscience as any of his Christian subjects, and then good night to *Ecclesiastical Policy*. I have herein indeavoured the utmost ingenuity toward Mr. *Bayes*, for he hath laid himself open but to too many disadvantages already, so that I need not, I would not presse him beyond measure, but to my best understanding, and if I fail I even ask him pardon, I do him right. 'Tis true, that being distracted betwixt his desire that the Consciences of men should be persecuted, and his anger at Princes that will not be advised, he confounds himself every where in his reasonings, that you can hardly distinguish which is the *whoop* and which is the *Holla*, and he makes Indentures on each side of the way wheresoever he goes. But no man that is sober will follow him, lest some Justice of Peace should make him pay his five shillings, beside the scandal; and it is apparent to every one what he drives at. But were this otherwise, I can spare it, and 'tis sufficient to my purpose that I do thus historically deduce the reason of his setting forth his Books, and shew that it was plainly to *remonstrate* against the power of his Prince, and the measures that he hath taken of governing; to set his Majesty at variance not onely with his Subjects, but with himself, and to raise a Civil-War in his *Intellectual Kingdom*, betwixt his controulable and his uncontroulable Jurisdiction. And because, having to do with a wise man, as Mr. *Bayes* is, one may often gather more of his mind out of a word that drops casually, than out of his whole watchful and se-

rious

rious discourse, when he is talking of matters of Policy and that require caution; I cannot slight one passage of Mr. *Bayes*, page 656. Where raging bitterly against all the Presbyterians and other Sects, and as much against the allowing them any Tenderness, Liberty, Toleration or Indulgence, he concludes thus, *Tenderness and Indulgence to such men, were to nourish Vipers in our own Bowels, and the most sottish neglect of our own quiet and security, and we should deserve to perish with the dishonour of Sardanapalus.* Now this of *Sardanapalus* I remember some little thing ever since I read, I think it was my *Justine*; and I would not willingly be such a Fool as to make a dangerous similitude that has no foundation. For if Mr. *Bayes* in the Preface of his *Defence*, to excuse his long teeming before it were brought forth, places it partly upon his recreations: I know not why much more a Prince should not *be willing to enjoy the innocent comforts of this life, as well as to do the common drudgeries.* But I am thinking what Mr. *Bayes* meant by it; for every similitude must have, though not all, yet some likeness: Now I am sure there were no Nonconformists and Presbyterians in *Sardanapalus* his days; I am sure also that *Sardanapalus* was no Clergy man, that he was no Subject; but he was one of the *Uncontroulable* Creatures, that instead of exercising his Ecclesiastical power delighted in spinning; till some body come in on the sudden, and catching him at it, cut his thred. Come 'tis better we left this Argument and the Company too, for you see the Crime, you see the Sentence: and whoever it be, there is some Prince or other whom Mr. *Bayes* will have to perish. That p. 641. is indeed not so severe, but 'tis pretty well; where, on the same kind of Subject, wheeling the Prince against those people, he saith, *That Prince that hath felt the pinches of these ravening Vultures, if after that he shall be perswaded to regard their fair speeches at such time as they*

want

want power, without other evident and unquestionable tokens of their conversion, deserves to be King of the Night. Now for this matter, I believe Mr. *Bayes* knows that his Majesty hath received such evident and unquestionable tokens of Loyalty from the Non-conformists; otherwise his own Loyalty would have hindred him from daring to use that expression.

And now I should continue my History to his third Book in hand, the Preface to Bishop *Bramhal*. But having his second Book still before me, I could not but look a little further into it, to see how he hath left matters standing betwixt himself and his Answerer. And first I lighted on that place where he strives to disintangle himself from what he had said about Trade in his former Book. Here therefore he defies the whole Fanatick world to discover one Syllable that tends to its discouragement. Let us put it upon that issue, and by this one example take the patern of his ingenuity in all his other contests. "Whoop, Mr. "*Bayes*, pag. 49. with what conscience does the An- "swerer tell the people that I have represented all "Tradesmen as seditious, when 'tis so notorious I "only suppose that some of them may be tainted with "Seditious Principles? If I should affirm that when "the Nobility or Clergy are possest with Principles "that incline to Rebellion and disloyal practices, they "are of all Rebels the most dangerous, should I be "thought to impeach them of Treason and Rebellion? Hollo, Mr. *Bayes*! But in the 49th. page of your first Book you say expressly, "For 'tis notorious that there "is not any sort of people so inclinable to Seditious "Practices as the Trading parts of a Nation. Is this the same thing now? and how does this Defence take off the Objection? And yet he tears and insults and declaims as if he had the Truth on his side. At last he strives to bring himself off and salve the matter in the same page 49. With, *In brief it is not the rich Citizens,*

but

but the Wealthy Fanatick that I have branded for an ungovernable Beast, and that not as Wealthy but as Fanatick. Subtle Distinguisher! I see if we give him but Rope enough what he will come to. Mr. *Bayes*, many as proper a man as your self hath march'd up *Holborn* for distinguishing betwixt the Wealth and the Fanatick: and moreover let me tell you, Fanatick Money hath no Bar-mark.

So concerning the Magistrates power in Religion, wherein his Answerer had remark'd some unsafe passages: "Whoop Mr. Bayes! P. 12. of his first Book before quoted: "Unless Princes have power "to bind their Subjects to what Religion they appre-"hend most advantagious, &c. they are no better "than Statues of Authority. Holla Bayes. Pag. 467. of the second Book: "This bold Calumny I have "already I hope competently enough discovered "and detested. Yet he repeats this fundamental For-"gery in all places, so that his whole Book is but "one huge Lye 400 pages long. Judge now who is the Forger; And yet he roars too here as if he would mix Heaven and Earth together. But you may spare your raving, you will never claw it off as long as your name is *Bayes*.

So his Answerer it seems having p. 85. said, that *Bayes* confines the whole Duty of Conscience to the inward thoughts and perswasions of the mind, over which the Magistrate hath no power at all: "Whoop *Bayes*, page 89. of his first Book, "Let all matters "of mere Conscience, whether purely moral or reli-"gious, be subject to Conscience only, *i. e.* Let men "think of things according to their own perswasions, "and assert the Freedom of their Judgments against "all the Powers of the Earth. This is the Preroga-"tive of the mind of man within its own Dominions "its Kingdom is intellectual, &c. P. 91. Liberty of "Conscience is internal and invisible, and confined

"to

" to the minds and judgments of men; and while " Conscience acts within its proper sphere, the Civil " power is so far from doing it Violence, that it never " can. *Hobbs Bayus p.* 229. of his Second Book; " This in down right English is a shameless Lye. Sir, " you must pardon my rudeness, for I will assure you, " after Long Meditation, I could not devise a more " pertinent answer to so bold an one as this. I believe you Mr. *Bayus*: You meditated long, some twelve moneths at least; and you could not devise any other answer, and in good earnest he hath not attempted to give any other answer. *I confess 'tis no extraordinary Conceit, but 'tis the best Repartee, my barren Fancy was able to suggest to me upon so rude an occasion.* Well Mr. *Bayer* I see it must come to a quarrel; for thus the Hectors use to do, and to give the Lye at adventure, when they have a mind to try a mans Courage. But I have often known them dye on the spot.

So his Answerer *p.* 134. having taxed him for his speaking against an expression in the Act of Parliament of 5to *Eliz.* concerning the Wednesday Fast. *upon Bayus pag.* 59. of his first Book. *The Act for the Wednesday Fast the Junium Cecilianum* (our Ecclesiastical Politician is the better States man of the two by far, and may make sport with *Cecil* when he pleases) *was injoyned with this clause of Exception, That if any person should affirm it to be imposed with an intention to bind the Conscience, he should be punished as spreader of false News.* So careful was the Supreme Magistrate in those dayes not to impose upon the Conscience; and the Wisdom of it is confirmed by the experience of our time; When so eminent a Divine, as I mentioned before, thought fit to write a whole Volumne, concerning the Holiness of LENT; though, if I be not deceived, this Doctrine too is prohibited by Act of Parliament, under the same

Penalty.

Penalty. But, ſaith *Bayes* there, *The matter indeed of this Law was not of any great moment, but this Declaration annexed to it proved of a fatal and miſchievous Conſequence.* 'Tis very well worth reading at large: but in ſhort the Conſequence (or the occaſion 'tis no matter when I have to do with *Bayes*) was, that "Princes how peremptory ſoever they have been in aſ-"ſerting the Rights of their Supreme Power, in "Civil Affairs, they have been forced to ſeem "modeſt and diffident in the exerciſe of their Ec-"cleſiaſtical Supremacy. Now, *Hobbs, Bayes.p.* 198. of his Second Book. "To what purpoſe does he ſo "briskly taunt me for thwarting mine own principles, "becauſe I have cenſured the impertinency of a need-"leſs Proviſion in an Act of Parliament. Obſerve, theſe are not the Anſwerers but *Bayes* his own words; whereby you may ſee with what Reverence and Duty he uſes to ſpeak of his Superiors and their Actions, when they are not ſo happy as to pleaſe him. "I may "obey the Law, though I may be of a different per-"ſwaſion from the Law-givers in an Opinion remote "and impertinent to the matter of the Law it ſelf: "nay, I may condemne the wiſdom of enacting it, "and yet at the ſame time think my ſelf to lie under "an indiſpenſable Obligation to obey it: for the "formal reaſon of its obligatory power (as any "Caſuiſt will inform him) is not the Judgment and "Opinion of the Law-giver, but the Declaration of "his Will and Pleaſure. Very good and ſound Mr. *Bayes*: but here you have opened a paſſage; and this is as impertinent in you and more dangerous than what you blamed in that Act, that the Non-Conformiſts may ſpeak againſt your Eccleſiaſtical Laws; for their Caſuiſts then tell them that, they lying under an indiſperſable obligation not to conform to ſome of them, do fulfil and ſatisfie their Obedience in ſubmitting to the penalty.

I look-

I looked further into what he saith in defence of the *Magistrates* assuming the Priesthood; what for his Scheme of moral Grace; what to palliate his irreverent expressions concerning our Blessed Savior and the Holy Spirit; what of all other matters objected by his Answerer: and if your will believe me; but I had much rather the Reader would take the pains to examine all himself, there is scarce any thing but slender trifling unworthy of a Logician, and beastly railing unbecoming any man, much more a Divine. At last, having read it all through with some attention, I resolved, having failed so of any thing material, to try my fortune whether it might be more lucky, and to open the Book in several places as it chanced. But, whereas they say that in the *Sortes Virgilianæ*, wheresoever you light you will find something that will hit and is proper to your intention; on the contrary here, there was not any leaf that I met with but had something impertinent, so that I resolved to give it over. This onely I observed upon the whole, that he does treat his Answerer the most basely and ingratefully that ever man did. For, whereas in his whole first Book there was not one sound principle, and scarce any titing in the second, but what the Answerer had given him occasion to amend and rectifie if he had understanding; after so great an obligation he handles him with more rudeness than is imaginable. I know it may be said in *Mr. Bayes* his defence, that in this his second Book he hath made his matters in many places much worse then they were before. But I say that was *Bayes* his want of understanding, and that he knew not how to take hold of so charitable an opportunity as was offered him, and 'twas none of the Answerers fault. There are amongst men some that do not study always the true rules of Wisdom and Honesty, but delight in a perverse kind of Cunning, which sometimes may take for a while and attain their design, but most usually

ally it fails in the end and hath a foul farewell. And such are all *Mr. Bayes* his Plots. In all his Writings he doth so confound terms, he leaps cross, he hath more doubles (nay triples and quadruples) than any Hare, so that he thinks himself secure of the Hunters. And in this second Book, even the length of it was some Policy. For you must know it is all but an Epistle to the Author of the *Friendly Debate*; and thought he with himself, who hath so much leisure from his own affairs, that he will read a Letter of another mans business of eight hundred pages? But yet, though he again, (and I could be content they did read it) in all matters of Argument I will so muddle my self in Ink, that there shall be no catching no finding me; and besides I will speak always with so *Magisterial* a confidence, that no modest man (and most ingenious persons are so) shall so much as quetch at me, but be beat out of Countenance: and plain men shall think that I durst not talk at such a rate but that I have a Commission. I will first, said he in his heart, like a stout Vagrant, beg; and if that will not do, I will command the Question, and as soon as I have got it, I will so alter the property and put on another Periwig, that I defie them all for discovering me or ever finding it again. This, beside all the luck and advantage that I have the Non-conformists upon since the late times; and though they were born since, and have taken more sober Principles, it shall be all one for that matter. And then for Oratory and Railing, let *Bayes* alone. This contrivance is indeed all the strength of *Mr. Bayes* his Argument, and as he said, (how properly let the Reader judge) pag. 69. before quoted, *that Moral Virtue is not only the most material and useful part of all Religion, but the ultimate end of all it's other Duties*: So, Railing is not onely the most material and useful part of his Religion, his Reason, his Oratory, and his Practise; but the ultimate end of this and all his other

Books.

Books. Otherwise he is neither so strongly fortified nor so well guarded, but that without any Ceremony of Trenches or Approaches, you may at the very first march up to his Counters-scarp without danger. He puts me in mind of the incorrigible Scold, that though she was duck'd over head and ears under water, yet stretched up her hands with her two thumb-nails in the Nit-cracking posture, or with two fingers divaricated, to call the man still in that Language Lousy Rascal and Cuckold. But indeed, when I consider how miserable a wretch his Answerer has rendred him, and yet how he persists still, and more to rail and revile him; I can liken it to nothing better betwixt them, than to what I have seen with some pleasure the hawking at the Magpy. The poor bird understands very well the terrible pounces of that Vulture; but therefore she chatters amain most usually, and spreads and cocks her tail, so that one that first saw and heard the sport, would think that she insulted over the Hawk in that chatter, and she huffed her train in token of courage and victory: when, alas, 'tis her fear all, and another way of crying the Hawk mercy, and to the end that the Hawk finding nothing but tail and feather to strike at, she may so perhaps shelter her body.

Therefore I think there is nothing in my way that hinders me, but that I may now go on to the History of this M. *Bayes* his third Book, the Preface to Bishop *Bramhall*, and to what *Juncture of Affairs* it was reconciled. His Majesty (perhaps upon Mr. *Bayes* his frequent Admonitions, both in his first and second Book, that Princes should be more attentive and confident in exercising their Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, though, I rather believe, he never design'd to read a line in him, but what he did herein, was only the result of his own good understanding) resolved to make some clear tryal how the Non-conformists could bear themselves

themselves under some Liberty of Conscience. And accordingly he issued on *March* the 15th 1671. His Gracious *Declaration of Indulgence*, of which I wish His Majesty and the Kingdom much joy, and as far as my slender judgment can divine, dare augurate and presage mutual Felicity, and that what ever humane Accident may happen (I fear not what *Bayes* foresees) they will, they can never have cause to repent this Action or its Consequences. But here *Bayes* finding that the King had so vigorously exerted his Ecclesiastical Power, but to a purpose quite contrary to what Mr. *Bayes* had always intended, he grew terrible angry at the King and his Privy Council: so that hereupon *he started*, as himself says, *into many warm and glowing Meditations: his heart burnt and the fire kindled, and that heated him into all this wild and rambling talk* (as some will be forward enough to call it) *though he hopes it is not altogether idle, and whether it be or be not, he hath now neither leisure nor patience to examine.* This he confesses upon his best recollection, in the last page of this Preface: Whereupon I cannot but animadvert, as in my first page, that this too lies open to his *Dilemma* against the Non-conformists Prayers: for if he will not accept his own Charge, his modesty is all impudent and counterfeit: If he does acknowledge it, he is an hot-headed Incendiary; and a wild rambling talker, and in part, if not altogether, an idle fellow. Really I cannot but pitty him, and look upon him as under some great disturbance and dispondency of mind. that this with some other scattering passages here and there, argues him to be in as ill a case as *Tiberius* was in his distracted Letter to the Senate: There wants nothing of it but the *Dii Deaque me perdant* wishing, Let the Gods and the Goddesses confound him worse than he finds himself to be every day confounded. But that I may not lose my thred. Upon occasion of this his Majesties Gracious Declaration,

tion,

tion, and against it, he writes this his third Book the *Preface to Bishop Bramhall*, and accordingly was unhappily delivered of it in *June* (I had forgot, or *July*, in 1672. For he did not go his full time of it, but miscarried; partly by a fright from *J. O.* and partly by a fal he had upon a *Closer Importance*. But of all his three Bolts this was the soonest shot, and therefore 'tis no wonder if he miss his mark, and has no care where his arrow glanced. But what he saith of his Majesty and his Council, being toward the latter end of his Discourse, am forced to defer that a little, because, there being no method at all in his wild rambling talk; must either tread just on in his footsteps, or else I shall be in a perpetual maze, and never know when I come to my journeys end.

And here I cannot altogether escape the mentioning of *J. O.* again, whom (though I have shown that he was not the main cause of publishing *Bayes* his Books) yet he singles out, and on his pretence runs down all the Nonconformists; this being, as he imagined, the safest way by which he might proceed first to undermine and then blow up his Majesties gracious Declaration. And this indeed is the least immethodical part in the whole Discourse. For first he undertakes to defend, that Railing is not only lawful, but expedient. Secondly, that though he has Railed, the person he spoke of ought not to have taken notice of it. And Thirdly, that he did not Rail. As to these things I do not much trouble my my self, nor intereſt my self in the least in *J. O.*'s Quarrel, no otherwise than if he were *John a Nokes*, and heard him rail'd at by *John a Stiles*: Nor yet would I concern my self unnecessarily in any mans behalf. Knowing that 'tis better being at the beginning of a Feast, than to come in at the latter end of a Fray. For if so I should, as often it happens in such Rencounters

not only draw Mr. *Bayes*, but *J. O.* too upon my back, I should have made a sweet business on't for my self.

Now as to the Lawfulness and Expedience of Railing; were it not that I do really make Conscience of using Scripture with such a drolling Companion as Mr. *Bayes*, I could overload him thence both with Authority and Example. Nor is it worth ones while to teach him out of other Authors, and the best precedents of the kind, how he, being a Christian and a Divine, ought to have carried himself. But I cannot but remark his Insolence, and how bold he makes upon this Argument, *p.* 88. of his Second Book, with the Memories of those great Persons there enumerated, several of whom, and particularly my Lord *Verulam*, I could quote to his confusion, upon a contrary and much better account. *So far am I from repenting my severity towards them, that I am tempted rather to applaud it by the Glorious examples of the greatest Wits of our Nation, King James, Arch-Bishop Whitgift, Arch-Bishop Bancroft, Bishop Andrews, Bishop Bilson, Bishop Montegue, Bishop Bramhal, Sir Walter Rawleigh, Lord Bacon, &c.* and he might have added Mr. *Tarlton* with as good pretence to this honour as himself. The *Niches* are yet empty in the Old Exchange; pray let us speak to the Statuary, that, next to King *James*'s, we may have *Bayes* his Effigies. For such great Wits are Princes fellows, at least when dead. At this rate there is not a Scold at *Billingsgate* but may defend her self by the pattern of King *James* and Arch-Bishop *Whitgift*, *&c.* Yet this is passable, if you consider our man. But that is most intolerable *p.* 17. of the Preface to his first Book, where he justifies his debauched way of writing by parallel to our Blessed Saviour. And I cannot but with some aw reflect how near the punishment was to the offence; when having undertaken so profane an Argument, he was in the very instant so infatuate as to say that Christ was not only *in an hot fit of Zeal*

but

but in a seeming Fury too and transport of Passion. But however, seeing he hath brought us so good Vouchers, let us suppose what is not to be supposed, that Railing is lawful. Whether it be expedient or no will yet be a new question. And I think Mr. *Bayes*, when he hath had time *to cool his thoughts*, may be trusted yet with that consideration, and to compute whether the good that he hath done by Railling do countervail the damage which both he in particular and the Cause he labours, have suffered by it. For in my observation, if we meet with an Argument in the Streets, both Men, Women, and Boys, that are the Auditory, do usually give it on the modester side; and conclude, that he that rails most has the least reason.

For the second, Where he would prove that though he had railed, yet his Answerer *J. O.* ought not to have taken notice of it, nor those of the party who are under the same condemnation, but that he should have abstracted and kept close to the Argument, I must confess it is a very secure and wholesome way of railing. And allowing this, he hath good reason to find fault with his Answerer, as he does, for turning over his Book, though without turning it over I know not how he could have answered him, but with his Hat, or with Mum. But for ought I can see in that only answer which is to his first Book, he hath been obedient and abstracted the Argument sufficiently; and if he hath been any where severe upon him, he hath done it more cleanly, and much more like a Gentleman, and it hath been only in showing the necessary inferences that must follow upon the Authors Maxims and unsound principles. But as to any answer to *Bayes* his second Book or this third, for ought I can see *J. O.* sleeps upon both Ears.

To this third undertaking, to show that he hath not rail'd; I shall not say any thing more, but let it be judg'

judg'd by the Company, and to them let it be refer'd. But in my poor opinion I never saw a man thorow all his three Books in so high a Salivation.

And therefore, till I meet with something more serious, I will take a walk in the Garden and gather some of Mr. *Bayes* his Flowers. Or I might more properly have said I will go see *Bedlam* and pick straws with our Mad-man. First he saith, that some that pretend a great interest in the holy Brother-hood, upon every slight accident are beating up the Drums against the Pope and Popish Plots; they discry Popery in every common and usual chance, and a Chimny cannot take fire in the City or Suburbs but they are immediately crying Jesuites and Firebals. I understand you, Sir. This, Mr. *Bayes* is your Prologue, that is to be spoke by *Thunder* and *Lightning*. *I am loud Thunder, brisk Lightning I. I strike men down. I fire the Town---- Look too't. We'l doot* Mr, *Bayes*, it is something dargerous medling with these matters. As innocent persons as your self, have felt the fury of the wild multitude, when such a Calamity hath disordered them. And after your late Severity against Tradesmen, it had been better you had not touched the fire. Take heed lest the Reasons which sparkle, forsooth, in your Discourse have not set their Chimnyes on fire. None accuses you, what you make sport with, of burning the Ships at *Chatham*, much less of blowing up the *Thames*. But you ought to be careful, lest having so newly distinguished betwixt the Fanatick and his Wealth, they should say, That you are distinguishing now betwixt the Fanaticks and their Houses. These things are too edged to be jested with: if you did but consider that not onely the *Holy Brotherhood*, but the *Sober and intelligent Citizens* are equally involved in these sad Accidents. And in that lamentable Conflagration (which was so terrible, that

 though

though so many years agoe, it is yet fresh in mem memories, and besides, is yearly by Act of *Parliament* observed with due Humiliation and Solemnity.) It was not Trade onely and Merchandise suffered, which you call their *Diana*; and was not so much to be considered; But St. *Pauls* too was burnt, which the Historians tell us was *Diana's* Temple.

The next thing is more directly levell'd at *J. O.* for having in some latter Book used those words, *We cannot conform to Arminianism or Socinianism on the one hand, or Popery on the other.* What the Answerer meant by those words, I concern not my self. Onely I cannot but say, That there is a very great neglect somewhere; wheresoever the Inspection of Books is lodged, that at least the *Socinian* Books are tolerated and sell as openly as the Bible. But *Bayes* turns all into Mirth, *He might as well have added all the -isms in the Old Testament, Perizzitism, Hittitism, Jebusitism, Hivitism, &c.*

No, Mr. *Bayes*, that need not; and though this indeed is a very pretty Conceit, and 'twere pity it should have been lost; yet I can tell you a better way. For, if rhiming be the business, and you are so good at *tagging of points in a Garret*, there is another word that will do it better, and for which, I know not how truly, you tax your Answerer too here, as if he said, *The Church of England were desperately Schismatical, because the Independents are resolved one and all, to continue separate from her Communion.* Therefore let *Schism*, if you please rhime to *-ism*. And though no man is obliged to produce the Authority of the greatest Wits of the Nation to justifie a Rhime, yet for your dear sake, Mr. *Bayes*, I will this once supererogate. The first shall be your good friend Bishop *Bramhall*, who among many other memorable Passages, which I believe were the reason that he never thought fit to

print

print his own Book; p. 101. teacheth us, not absurdly, that *It was not the erroneous Opinions of the Church of Rome, but the obtruding them by Laws upon other churches, which warranted a Separation.* But if this will not doe, *Vous avez* Doctor *Thorndikes* Deposition in print, for he, I hear, is lately dead. *The Church of* England *is separating from the Church of* Rome, *is guilty of Schism before God.* I have not the Book by me, but I am sure 'tis candidly recited as I have read it. Then (to shew too that there is a King on this side) his present Majesty's Father in his Declaration 4to *Caroli* 1628. affirms that a Book, entituled, "Appello Cæsarem or an Appeal to Cæsar, and published in the year 1625. by Richard Montague then "Batcheler of Divinity, and now Bishop of *Chi-*"*chester* had opened the way to these Schisms and Di-"visions which have since ensued in the Church, and "that therefore for the redress and remedy thereof, "and for the satisfaction of the Consciences of his "good People, he had not only by publick Procla-"mation called in that Book, which ministred mat-"ter of offence, but to prevent the like danger for "the future, reprinted the Articles of Religion, esta-"blished in the time of Queen *Elizabeth* of Famous "Memory: and by a Declaration, before those Arti-"cles, did restrain all Opinions to the Sense of those "Articles, that nothing might be left for private Fan-"cies and Innovations, &c. And if this will not amount fully, I shall conclude with a Villanous *Pamphlet* that I met with t'other day; but of which a *great* man indeed was the Author. And, whereas Mr. *Bayes* is alwayes defying the Nonconformists with Mr. *Hookers Ecclesiastical Polity*, *and the Friendly Debate*, I am of opinion, though I have a great Reverence for Mr. *Hooker*, who in some things did answer himself, That this little Book, of not full eight leaves, hath

shut that *Ecclesiastical Polity*, and Mr. *Bayes*'s too, out of doors: But for the *Friendly Debate*, I must confess, that it is unanswerable. 'Tis one Mr. *Hales* of *Eaton*; a most learned Divine, and one of the Church of *England*; and most remarkable for his Sufferings in the late times, and his Christian Patience under them. And I reckon it not one of the least Ignominies of that Age, that so eminent a Person should have been by the Iniquity of the times reduced to those necessities under which he lived; as I account it no small honour to have grown up into some part of his Acquaintance, and convers'd a while with the living *remains* of one of the clearest heads and best prepared breasts in Christendom. That which I speak of is his little *Treatise of Schism*, which though I had read many years ago, was quite out of my mind, till I occasionally light upon't at a Book-seller's stall. I hope it will not be tedious, though I write of some few (and yet whatsoever I omit, I shall have left behind more) material Passages. "Schism is one of "those Theological Scarcrows with which they who "use to uphold a party in Religion, use to fright "away such, as making inquiry into it are ready to "relinquish and oppose it, if it appear either erro-"neous or suspicious. Schism is, if we would de-"fine it, an unnecessary separation of Christians "from that part of the Visible Church of which "they were once members. Some reverencing Anti-"quity more than needs, have suffered themselves to "be scared with imputation of Schism more than "needs. Nothing absolves men from the guilt of "Schism, but true and unpretended Conscience. "But the Judgments of the Ancients many times (to "speak most gently) are justly to be suspected. When "the cause of Schism is necessary, there not he that "separates, but he that is the cause of Separation is

"the

"the Schismatick. Where the occasion of Separation "is unnecessary, neither side can be excused from "guilt of Schism. But who shall be the Judg? That is "a point of great difficulty, because it carries fire "in the Tail of it: for it brings with it a piece of "Doctrine which is seldom pleasing to Superiours. "You shall find that all Schisms have crept into the "Church by one of these three waies, either upon "matter of Fact, or upon matter of Opinion, or "point of Ambition. For the first, I call that mat-"ter of Fact, when something is required to be done "by us, which either we know or strongly suspect to "be unlawful. Where be Instances in the old great Controversie about EASTER. "For it being upon "error taken for necessary that an Easter must be "kept, and upon worse than error (for it was no "less than a point of Judaism forc'd upon the Church) "thought further necessary that the ground of the "time for the Feast, must be the Rule left by *Moses* to "the Jews: there arose a stout Question, Whether "twas to be celebrated with the Jews on the four-"teenth Moon, or the Sunday following. This cau-"sed as great a Combustion as ever was; the West "separating and refusing Communion with the East "for many years together. Here I cannot see but all "the world were Schismaticks, excepting only that "we charitably suppose to excuse them from it, that "all parties did what they did out of Conscience. "A thing which befell them by the ignorance, for "I will not say the malice of their guides; and that "through the just judgment of God, because, through "sloth and blind obedience, men examined not the "things they were taught, but like beasts of burthen "patiently couched down, and indifferently under-"went all whatsoever their Superiours laid upon "them. If the discretion of the chiefest guides of

« the Church did, in a point so trivial, so inconsi-
« derable, so mainly fail them? Can we without the
« imputation of great grosness and folly, think so
« poor-spirited persons competent Judges of the
« Questions now on foot betwixt the Churches?
« Where, or among whom, or how many the Church
« shall be, it is a thing indifferent; What if those to
« whom the Execution of the publick Service is com-
« mitted, do something, either unseemingly or
« suspicious, or peradventure unlawful; what if the
« Garments they wear be censured, nay, indeed be
« suspicious. What if the gesture or adoration to
« be used to the Altars, as now we have learned to
« speak? What if the Homilist have preached or de-
« livered any Doctrine, of the truth of which we are
« not well perswaded, (a thing which very often falls
« out) yet, for all this, we may not separate, except
« we be constrained personally to bear a part in it
« our selves. Nothing can be a just cause of refusing
« Communion in Schism, that concerns Fact; but
« only to require the execution of some unlawful or
« suspected Act. For, not only in Reason, but in
« Religion too, that Maxim admits of no release,
« *Cautissimi cujusque praceptum, quod dubitas ne feceris*:
« That whatsoever you doubt of, that you in no case
« do. He instances then in the Second Council of
Nice, where, saith he, "the *Synod* it self was the
« Schismatical party in the point of using the Images,
« which, saith he, all acknowledg unnecessary, most
« do suspect, and many hold utterly unlawful: Can
« then the injoining of such a thing be ought else
« but an abuse? Can the refusal of Communion here
« be thought any other thing than Duty? Here, or
« upon the like occasion to separate, may peradventure
« bring personal trouble or danger, against which it
« concerns any honest man to have *Pectus præparatum*.

« Then

" Then of Schism from Opinion; Prayer, Confession, Thanksgiving, Reading of Scripture, Administration of Sacraments in the plainest and the simplest manner, were matter enough to furnish out a sufficient Liturgy, though nothing either of private Opinion or of Church Pomp, of Garments, of prescribed Gestures, of Imagery, of Musick, of matter concerning the Dead, of many Superfluities which creep into the Church, under the name of Order and Decency did interpose it self. To charge Churches and Liturgies with things unnecessary was the first beginning of Superstition. If the Fathers and special Guides of the Church would be a little sparing in incumbring Churches with Superfluities, or not over-rigid either in reviving obsolete customs, or imposing new; there would be far less cause of Schism or Superstition; and all the inconvenience likely to ensue, would be but this, They should in so doing yield a little to the imbecility of their inferiours; a thing which Saint *Paul* would never have refused to do. It is alike unlawful to make profession of known or suspected falshood, as to put in practise unlawful or suspected Actions. The third thing I named for matter of Schism was Ambition, I mean Episcopal Ambition; One head of which, is one Bishops claiming Supremacy over another, which, as it hath been from time to time a great Trespass against the Churches Peace, so it is now the final ruine of it. For they do but abuse themselves and others, who would perswade us that Bishops by Christs institution have any Superiority over other men further than positive Order agreed upon among Christians hath prescribed. Time hath taken leave, sometimes, to fix this name of CONVENTICLES upon good and honest Meetings. Though open Assem-

"blies are required, yet, at all times while men are re-
"ally pious, all Meetings of men for mutual help of
"piety and Devotion, whereſoever, and by whom-
"ſoever celebrated, where permitted without exceptio-
"on. In times of manifeſt Corruption and Perſecu-
"tion, wherein Religious Aſſembling is dangerous,
"Private Meetings, howſoever beſides Publick Or-
"der, are not onely lawful, but they are of neceſſity
"and duty. All pious Aſſemblies, in times of Perſe-
"cution and Corruption, howſoever practiſed, are
"indeed, or rather alone, the Lawful Congregations:
"and Publick Aſſemblies, though according to form
"of Law, are, indeed, nothing elſe but RIOTS and
"CONVENTICLES, if they be ſtained with Cor-
"ruption and Superſtition. Do you not ſee now,
Mr. *Bayl*; that you needed not have gone ſo for a word,
when you might have had it in the Neighbourhood?
If there be any Coherence left in your Scull, you can-
not but perceive that I have brought you Authority e-
nough to prove that *Schiſm* (for the reaſon we may
diſcourſe another time) do's at leaſt rhime to *Iſm*.
But you have a peculiar delight and felicity, (which
no man envies you) in Scripture-Drollery, nothing lels
will taſte to your Palat whereas otherwiſe you have
travelled ſo far in *Italy*, that you could not eſcape the
Titles of ſome Books which would have ſerved your
turn as well, *Cardinaliſm*, *Nepotiſm*, *Putaniſm*, if you
were in a *Paroxyſm* of the *Iſm's*.

When I had writ this, and undergone ſo grateful a
Penance for no leſs than that I had tranſcribed before
out of our Author; I could not upon comparing them
both together, but reflect moſt ſeriouſly upon the dif-
ference of their two ways of Diſcourſing. I could not
but admire that *Majeſty* and Beauty which ſits upon the
forehead of maſculine Truth and generous Honeſty:
but no leſs deteſt the Deformity of falſhood diſguiſed

in

in all its Ornaments. How much another thing it is to hear him speak, that hath cleared himself from froth and growns, and who suffers neither Sloth nor Fear, not Ambition, nor any other tempting Spirit of that nature to abuse him, from one, who as Mr. *Hales* expresseth it, makes Christianity lackque to Ambition; How wretchedly, the one to uphold his *Fiction*, must incite Princes to Persecution and Tyranny, degrade Grace to Morality, debauch Conscience against its own Principles, distort and mis-interpret the Scripture, fill the world with Blood, Execution, and *Massacre*; while the other needs and requires no more but a peaceable and unprejudicate Soul, and the native simplicity of a Christian-spirit! And me thinks, if our Author had any spark of Vertue unextinguished, he should, upon considering these together, retire into his Closet, and there lament and pine away for his desperate follie; for the disgrace he hath, as far as in him is, brought upon the *Church of England* by such an undertaking, and for the eternal shame to which he has hereby condemn'd his own memory.

I ask you heartily pardon, *Mr. Bayes*, for treating you against *Decorum* here, with so much gravity. 'Tis possible I may not trouble you above once or twice more in the like nature; but so often at least, I hope, one may in the writing of a whole Book, have leave to be serious. Your next Flower, and that indeed is a sweet one, *Dear Heart, how could I hug and kiss thee for all this Love and Sweetness?* Fy, fy, *Mr. Bayes*, Is this the Language of a Divine, and to be used, as you sometimes express it, in the face of the Sun? Who can escape from thinking that you are adream'd of your *Comfortable Importance?* These are (as the *Moral Satyrist* calls them in the cleanliest manner the thing would bare) *Words left betwixt the Sheets:* Some body might take it ill that you should misapply your Court-

ſhip to an Enemy. But in the *Roman Empire* it was the privil-dge of the Hangman to deflour a Virgin before Execution. But, ſweet Mr. *Bayes*, (for I know you do nothing without a precedent of ſome of the greateſt wits of the Nation,) whoſe example had you for this *ſeeming Tranſport* of a gentler *Paſſion*.

Then comes, *Wellfare poor Macedo for a modeſt Fool*. This I know is matter of *Gazette*, which is as Canonical as *Eccleſiaſtical Policy*. Therefore I have the leſs to ſay to't. Onely, I could wiſh that there were ſome ſeverer Laws againſt ſuch Villains who raiſe ſo falſe and ſcandalous reports of worthy Gentlemen; And that men might not be ſuffered to walk the ſtreets in ſo confident a garb, who commit thoſe Aſſaſſinates upon the reputation of deſerving perſons.

Here follows a ſore Charge: that the Anſwerer had *without any provocation, in a publick and ſolemn way, undertaken the Defence of the Fanatick Cauſe*. Here, indeed *Mr. Bayes*, You have reaſon, and you might have had as juſt a quarrel againſt whoſoever had undertaken it. For, your deſign and hope was from the beginning, that no man would have anſwered you in a publick and ſolemn way; and nothing would vex a wiſe man, as you are, more than to have his intention and Counſel fruſtrated. When you have rang'd all your forces in battel, when you have plac'd your Cannon, when you have ſounded a charge, and given the word to fall on upon the whole Party; if you could then perſwade every particular perſon of 'm, that you gave him no Provocation, I confeſs, *Mr. Bayes*, this were an excellent and a new way of your inventing, to conquer ſingle, ('tis your *Moral Vertue*) whole Armies. And ſo the *admiring Dreve* might ſtand gaping till one by one, you had cut a'l their throats. But, *Mr. Bayes*, I cannot diſcern but that you gave him as much Provocation in your firſt Book, as he has you in his

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Evangelical Love, Church-Peace and unity, which is the precence of your issuing this Preface.

For, having for your *Dear sake* (beside many other troubles that I have undertaken, without your giving me any Provocation) sought out and perused that Book too, I do not find you any where personally concern'd, but as you have, it seems upon some conviction, assumed to your self some vices or errours against which he speaks in general, and with some modesty. But for the rest, you say upon full perusal, *you find not one Syllable to the purpose, beside a perpetual Repetition of the old out-worn story of unscriptural Ceremonies, and some frequent whinings, and sometimes ravings*, &c. Now to see the dulness of some mens Capacities above others. I upon this occasion, begun, I know not how it came, at p. 127. And thence read on to the end of his Book. And from thence I turn'd to the beginning and continued to p. 127. and could not all along, observe any thing but what was very pertinent to the matter in hand. But this is your way of excusing your self from replying to things that yet you will be medling with, and nibling at: and 'tis besides a pretty knack (the Non-conformists have it not alone) of frighting or discouraging sober people from reading those dangerous Treatises, which might contribute to their better information. I cannot but observe, Mr. *Bayes*, this admirable way (like fat *Sir John Falstaffe*'s singular dexterity in sinking) that you have of answering whole Books or Discourses, how pithy and knotty soever, in a line or two, nay sometimes with a word. So it fares with this Book of the Answerers. So with a Book or Discourse of his, I know not, of the *Morality of the Lords Day*; which is answered by a *Septenary Portion in the Hebdomadal Revolution*. So, whether Book or Discourse I also know not of the *Self-evidencing light of the Scripture*, where *Bayes* (first (and it seems

[so strange] to produce as good proofs for it out of their *Alcoran*. So I shew'd you where he answers Demonstration with the Eye. And one thing more comes into my mind; where, after he has blunder'd a great while to bring himself off the Magistrates exercising the Priesthood in his own person, he concludes with an irresistible defence against his Answerer, *This is suitable to the Genius of his ingenuity, and betraies him as much as the word* INTANGLEMENT, *which is the Shibboleth of all his writings.* So he defeats all the *gross bodies of Orthodoxy* with calling them *Systemes and Syntagmes.* So you know he answers all the Controversial Books of the Calvinists that ever have been written, with the Tale of *Robin Hood*, and the *mighty Bramble on the South-side of the Lake Leman.* Mr. *Boyse*, You cannot enough esteem and cherish this Faculty. For, next to your single beating whole Armies, I do not know any Vertue that you have need of so often, or that will upon trial be found more useful.

And to this succeeds another Flower, I am sure, though I can scarce smell out the sense of it. But it is Printed in a distinct Character, and that is always a certain sign of a Flower. For our Book-sellers have many Arts to make us *yield to their importunity*: and among the rest, they promise us, that it shall be Printed in fine Paper, and in a very large and fair Letter; that it shall be very well examined that there be no Errata; that wheresoever there is a pretty Conceit, it shall be marked out in another Character. But my greatest care was that when I quoted any Sentence or word of our Author's, it might be so discernable, lest I should go for a Plagiary. And I am much offended to see that in several places he hath not kept touch with me. The Word of Mr. *Boyse*'s that he has here made notorious, is *Categoricalness*: and I observe that wheresoever there comes a word of that termination he

shows

shows it the same honour; as if he had a mind to make *Bayes* a Collar of *Nesses*. What the mystery is, I cannot so easily imagine; no more than of *Shiboleth* and *Intanglement*. But I doubt Mr. *Bayes* is sick of many complicated Diseases; or to keep to our rhime, *Sicknesses*. He is troubled not only with the *Ismes* but the *Nesses*. He might, if he had pleased, here too to have show'd his wit, as he did in the others, and have told us of *Sheerness*, *Dorgioness*, *Innerness*, and *Cathness*. But he might very well have omitted it in this place, knowing how well he had acquitteed himself in another, and out of the Scripture too, which gives his wit the highest relish. 'Tis p. 72. of his first Book, where, to prove that the fruits of the Spirit are no more than Morality, he quotes Saint *Paul*, *Gal.* 5. 22. Where the Apostle enumerates them; *Love*, *Joy*, *Peace*, *Patience*, *Gentleness*, *Goodness*, *Faith*, *Meekness*, and *Temperance*: but our Author translates Joy to *Chearfulness*, Peace to *Peaceableness*: faith to faithfulness. What Ignorance, or rather, what Forgery is this of Scripture & Religion? Who is there of the *Systematical*, *German Geneva*, *Orthodox Divines*, but could have taught him better? who is there of the *Sober*, *Intelligent*, *Episcopal Divines* of the Church of *England*, but would abhor this Interpretation? Yet, when his Answerer, I see, objects this to him, p. 200. *Bayes*, like a dexterous Scholastical Disputant, it being told him, That Joy is not Cheerfulness, but that *Spiritual Joy which is unspeakable*; that Peace is not Peaceableness in his Sense, but *that Peace of God which through Jesus Christ is wrought in the hearts of Believers by the Holy Ghost*; and that Faith in God is there intended, not faithfulness in our Duties, Trusts or Offices: What does he doe? p. 337. He very ingenuously and wisely, when he is to answer, quite forgets that Faith was once named: and, having suppreſt that, as to the rest he wipes his *Mouth*, and rubs

his

his Forehead, and saith the *Cavil is but a little one, and the Fortune of Cæsar and the Roman Empire depend not upon it, and therefore he will not trouble the Reader with a Critical Account of the reason of his Translation.* No, don't Mr. *Bayes*, 'Tis very well; let it alone. But, though not the Fortunes of *Cæsar* and the Roman Empire, I doubt there is something more depends upon it, if it be matter of Salvation. And I am afraid besides, that there may a curse too belong to him who shall knowingly add or diminish in the Scripture. Do you think Bishop *Bramhall* himself, if he had seen this, could have abstained (p. 117. before quoted,) from telling our Author, *That the promiscuous Licence given to people qualified or unqualified, not only to read but to interpret the Scriptures according to their private spirits or particular fancies, without regard either to the Analogy of Faith, which they understand not, or to the interpretation of the Doctors of former Ages, is more prejudicial (I might better say) pernicious both to whole Societies, than the over-rigorous restraint of the Romanists.*

The next is a piece of Mirth, on occasion of some discourse of the Answerers, about the Morality of the the Lords-day: Where it seems he useth some hard words, which I am naturally an enemy to; but might be done of purpose to keep the Controversy from the white-Aprons, within the white Surplices, to be more learnedly debated. But this fares no better than all the rest. There is no kind of *Morality*, I see, but *Bayes* will try to debauch it: *Oh what edifying Doctrine, saith he, is this to the white-Aprons! and doubtless they would with the Jews, sooner roast themselves, than a small joint of Mutton upon the Sacred Day of Rest.* Now, I do pray, neither, I believe, does *Bayes* himself know any of them that are thus superstitious. So that Mr. *Bayes* might, if he had pleased, have spared his jibing

at

is that day, which hath more sacredness in it by far than many, nay than any of those things he pleads for. But when men are once *Adepti* and have attain'd *Bayes* his height, and *Divinity* at least *be rightly understood*, they have a Priviledge it seems, not only to play and make merry *on* the Sabbath day, but *with* it.

After this I walked a great way through bushes and brambles before I could find another Flower: but then I met with two upon one stalk; on occasion of his Answerers having said someting of the day of Judgment when men should be accountable. *Oh* saith he, *we shall be sure to be accounted with at the day of Judgment*; and again, *Ah sweet day, when these people of God shall once for all, to their unspeakable Comfort and Support, wreak their eternal Revenge upon their irreprobate Enemies.* This puts me in mind of another expression of our Authors alluding too this way. "'Tis an "easie matter by this dancing and capering humour to "perpetuate all the Controversies in the world, how "plainly soever determinable, to the coming of "Elias; and after this rate shall the Barbers bason re-"main *Mambrino's* helmet; and the Asses Pannel a "furniture for the Great Horse, till the day of "Judgment. Now, good Mr. *Bayes*, I am one that desire to be very well resolved in these things; and though not much indeed, yet I attribute something to your judgment. Pray tell us in good earnest, what you think of these things, that we may know how to take our measure of living accordingly. For, if indeed there be no Judgment, no account for what is done here below, I have lost a great deal of precious time, that I might have injoyed in one of the fruits of your spirit, that is *cheerfulness*. How many good jests have I balk'd, even in writing this book, lest I should be brought to answer for every profane and idle word! How frequent opportunities have I

mist in my life of geniality and pleasure, and fulfilling Nature in all its ends! How have you frighted the Magistrate in vain, from exercising his uncontrolable Ecclesiastical Power, with the fear of an after-reckoning to God Almighty! And how have you, p. 238. defeated the obligatory force of all his Laws, and set his Subjects at liberty from all obligations to the duty of Obedience: for they lye under no Obligation, you say then, but of Prudence and Self-interest. But unless there hath been some errour in our education, and we have been seasoned with ill Books at first, so that we can never lose the impression, there is some such matter, and the Governour had reason, when he trembled to hear Saint *Paul* discoursing of that Subject. The Fanatical *Book of Martyrs* (for we will not with some call the Bible so) tells us some old Stories of persons that have been cited by some of them to appear at such a day, and that by dying at the same prefixed, they have saved their Reconnoissances. And in the *Scotch* History we read of a great Cardinal that was so summoned by poor *Mr. Guichard*, and yet could not help it, but he must take that long and sad journey of Death to answer at the Grand Assizes. If therefore there be such a thing, I would not for fear, and if there be not, yet I would not fear good luck sake, set that terrible day at defiance, or make too merry with it. 'Tis possible that the Nonconformists many of them may be too censorious of others, and too confident of their own Integrity. Others of them are more temperate, and perhaps destitute of all humane redress against their sufferings: Some of those make rash Challenges, and the other just Appeals to appear at that dreadful Tribunal. In the mean time, 'tis not for you to be both the *Enemy* and their Judge. Much less do's it befit you, because perhaps they speak too fillily or demurely

surely of it, or too breaving and confidently, therefore to make a meer mockery of the whole business of that supreme Judge and Judicature. And one thing I will say more, though slighter; that, though I am not so far gone as *Campanella* was in the efficacy of words, and the magick of the face, and pronunciation, Yet I marked how your Answerer look'd when he spoke of the day of Judgment. Very gravely, I assure you, and yet without any depressing or exalting his *Supercilium's*: And I have most often observed that serious words have produced serious Effects.

I have, by this time me-thinks, gather'd enough: nor are there many more left, unless I should go for a Flower to the *Dunghil*, which, he saith, *is his only Magazin.* And this being an expression which he has several times used (for no Nonconformist repeats so often) I cannot but remark, that besides his natural Talent, *Mr. Bayes* hath been very industrious, and neglected no opportunity of acquiring a perfection of railing. For this is a phrase borrowed from a modern Author lately dead, and I suppose *Bayes* had given him a Bond for repayment at the day that he spoke of so lately.

There are indeed several others at which I am forc'd to stop my nose. For by the smell, any man may discern they grew upon a ranker soil, than that on the South-side of the *Lake Lemane*, even upon the bank of the *Thames* in the Meadow of *Billingsgate*: as that of the Lye, which, he saith, no Gentleman, much less a Divine, ought to put up. Now if this were to be tryed by a Court-Martial of the Brothers of the Blade, 'Tis to be considered whether it were the down-right Lye, or whether it were onely the Lye by Interpretation. For in the disputes of the Schools there is nothing more usual, than *Hoc est Verum. Hoc*

est

est falsum. But this passes without any blemish of honour on either side, and so far it is from any obligation to a Challenge or a Duel, that it never comes to be decided, so much as by the Study-door key. But *quod restat probandum* do's the business without demanding other satisfaction. Then, if it were the down-right Lye; it is to be examined who gave the Lye first: for that alters the case. And last of all (but which is indeed upon a quarrel the least material point, yet, it too comes under some consideration) which of the two was in the right, and which of them spoke truth, and which lyed. These are all things to be discussed in their proper places. For I do not observe that the Answerer gave *Bayes* the down-right Lye. But I find that *Bayes* gave him the Lye first in terms. And as to the Truth of the things controverted and alledged, there needs no more than the depositions that I formerly transcribed concerning *Bayes* his own words. But all this is only a Scene out of *Bays* his *Rehearsal.*

Villain, thou liest, ——
---- *Arm, arm, Valerio arm,*
The Lie no flesh can bear I trow.

And then as to the Success of the Combate

----*They fly, they fly*
Who first did give the Lye.

For that of Caitife, and other Provocations that are proper for the same Court, I will not meddle further. And for the being *past Grace and so past Mercy*; I shall only observe that the Church of *England* is much obliged to Mr. *Bays*, for having proved that Non-conformity is the Sin against the Holy Ghost.

There remains but one Flower more that I have a mind to. But that indeed is a Rapper. 'Tis a *Flower of the Sun*, and might alone serve both for a Staff and a Nose-gay for any Noble-man's Porter. "Symboli-
"calness

"calneſs is the very Eſſence of Paganiſm, Superſtition
"and Idolatry. They will and ought ſooner to broyl
"in Smithfield, than ſubmit to ſuch Abominations of
"the Strumpet and the Beaſt. 'Tis the very Potion
"wherewith the Scarlet-Whore made drunk the
"Kings of the Earth. *Heliogabalus* and Biſhop *Bon-*
"*ner* lov'd it like Clary and Eggs, and always made it
"their mornings-draught upon burning days; and it
"is not to be doubted but the ſeven Vials of Wrath
"that were to be poured out upon the Nations of the
"Earth under the Reign of Anti-chriſt were filled
"with Symbolical Extracts and Spirits: With more
ſuch ſtuff which I omit. This is I confeſs a pretty
Poſy for the Noſe of ſuch a Divine. Doctor *Raily's*
Romance of the *wall-Flower* had nothing comparable
to't. And I queſtion, whether, as well as Mr. *Eyres*
loves preferment, yet though he had lived in the Pri-
mitive Church, he would not as *Heliodorus* Biſhop of
Triſſa, I take it, that renounced his Biſhoprick rather
than his Title to the Hiſtory of *Theagines* and *Chari-*
clia, have done in like manner: nay, and have deli-
vered up his Bible too into the bargain, before he
would quit the honour of ſo excellent a piece of
Drollery. This is ſurely the Bill of Fare, not at the
Ordination-Dinner at the *Nags-head*, but of the *Excom-*
munication-Dinner at the *Cock*; and never did Divine make
ſo good Chear of *Owens* Peas-porridge and Scrip-
ture. Good Mr. *Eyres*, or Mr. *Thunder*, or Mr. *Cart-*
wright (not the Non-conformiſt *Cartwright*, that was
you ſay (as ſome others too of your acquaintance) con-
verted: but the Player in the Rehearſal) this *Divinity*
I doubt was the *Bacchus* of your Thigh, and not the
Pallas of your Brain.

Here it is that after ſo great an exceſs of Wit, he
thinks fit to take a Julep and reſettle his Brain, and
the Government. He grows as ſerious as 'tis poſſible

for

for a madman, and pretends to sum up the whole state of the Controversie with the Nonconformists. And to be sure he will make the story as plausible for himself as he may: But therefore it was that I have before so particularly quoted and bound him up with his own Words as fast as such a *Proteus* could be pinion'd. For he is as warm as the first matter, and no Form comes amiss to him. Every change of Posture does either alter his opinion or vary the expression, by which we should judg of it; and sitting he is of one mind, and standing of another. Therefore I take my self the less concerned, to fight with a Windmill like *Quixote*, or to whip a Gig as boys do, or with the Lacqueys at *Charing-cross* or *Lincolns-Inn-fields* to play at the *Wheel of Fortune*, lest I should fall into the hands of my Lord Chief Justice, or Sir *Edmund Godfrey*. The truth is in short, and let *Bayes* make more or less of it if he can; *Bayes* had at first built up such a stupendious Magistrate, as never was of God's making. He had put all Princes upon the Rack to stretch them to his dimension. And, as a streight line continued grows a Circle, he had given them so infinite a Power that it was extended unto Impotency. For though he found it not, till it was too late in the Cause; yet he felt it all along (which is the understanding of Brutes) in the Effect. For, hence it is that he so often complains, that Princes knew not aright that Supremacy over Consciences, to which they were so lately, since their deserting the Church of *Rome*, restored. That in most Nations Government was not rightly understood, and many expressions of that Nature: Whereas indeed the matter is that Princes have always found that uncontroulable Government over CONSCIENCE to be both unsafe and unpracticable. He had run himself here to a stand, and perceived that there

was

was a God, there was Scripture; the Magistrate himself had a Conscience, and must *take care that he did not injoin things apparently evil.* Being at a stop here, he would therefore try how he could play the Broker on the Subjects side: and no Pimp did ever enter into seriouser disputation to vitiate an innocent Virgin, than he to debauch their Consciences. And to harden their unpractis'd modesty, he imboldens them by his own example, shewing them the experiment upon his own Conscience first. But after all, he finds himself again at the same stand here and and is run up to the Wall by an Angel: God, and Scripture, and Conscience will not let him go further; but he owns, that if the Magistrate injoins things apparently evil, the Subject may have liberty to remonstrate. What shall he do then? for it is too glorious an enterprize to be abandon'd at the first rebuffe. Why he gives us a new Translation of the Bible, and a new Commentary. He saith that Tenderness of Conscience might be allowed in a Church to be constituted, not in a Church constituted already. That Tenderness of Conscience and Scandal are Ignorance, Pride and Obstinacy. He saith, the Nonconformists should communicate with him till they have clear evidence that it is evil. This is a civil way indeed of gaining the question, to perswade men that are unsatisfied, to be satisfied till they be dissatisfied. He threatens, he rails, he jeers them; if it were possible, out of all their Consciences and Honesty; and finding that will not do, he calls out the Magistrate, tells him, these men are not fit to live, there can be no security of Government while they are in being: bring out the Pillories, Whipping-posts, Gallies, Rods and Axes; (which are *ratio ultima regis*, a Clergy-mans last Argument, ay, and his first too:) and pull in pieces all the Trading Corporations,

ons, those Nests of Faction and Sedition. This is a faithful account of the Iam and intention of all his undertaking, for which I confess, he was as pick'd a man as could have been employ'd or found out in a whole Kingdom: but it is so much too hard a Task for any man to atchieve, that no Goose but would grow giddy with it.

For whereas he reduces the whole Controversie to a matter of two or three Symbolical Ceremonies (and if there be nothing else, more the shame of those that keep such a pudder) it is very well worth observing how he hath behaved himself, and how come off in this Dispute. It seems that the Conformists do fine a Sacrament to be an Outward visible Sign of an Inward Spiritual Grace. It seems that the Sacraments are usually called in the Greek *Symbola*. It seems further that some of the Nonconformists, under the name therefore of Symbolical Ceremonies, dispute the lawfulness of those that are by our Church injoyned, whereby the Nonconformists can only intend that these Ceremonies are so applyed, as if they were of a Sacramental nature and institution, and that therefore they are unlawful. Our Authors Answerer handling this Argument, does among other things make use of a pertinent Passage in Saint *Austin*, *Signa quum ad res divinas pertinent Sacramenta appellantur*. What does Mr. *Bayes* in this case? for it went hard with him. Why, as good luck would have it, not being willing that so great a Politician, to the irreparable damage of the Church, should yet be destroyed, *J. O.* had forgot to quote the Book and Page. Now though you send a man the length of your Weapon, and name your Second; Yet Mr. *Bayes* being, as you see often, admirably read in the Laws of Duelling, knew that unless the Time and Place be appointed, there is no danger. He saith therefore,

p. 452.

p. 452. of his second Book, that he *should have advantage on his side, if he should lay odds with him, that there is no such passage in all the Volumns of Saint* Austin.---But however, that it is neither civil nor ingenuous to trouble him with such Objections, as he cannot answer without reading over eight or ten large Volumns in Folio. It was too much to expect from one of so much business, good *Augustulus:*

Quum tot sustineas & tanta negotia solus;
Res Sacras Armis tuteris, Moribus ornes,
Legibus emendes ——

Which may be thus translated: When you alone have the Ceremonies to defend with Whipping-posts, Rods and Axes; when you have Grace to turn into Morality; when you have the Act of Oblivion and Indemnity and the Ecclesiastical Declaration of *March* to tear in pieces; it were unreasonable and too much to the dammage of the publick to put you on such an Imployment. I ask your pardon, Mr. *Bayes*, for this Paraphrase and Digression: for I perceive I am even hardned in my Latine, and am prone to use it without fear or reverence. But, Mr. *Bayes*, there might have been a remedy for this, had you pleased. Where then were all your *Leaf-Turners?* a sort of poor Readers *you as well as Bishop* Bramhal *ought to have some Reverence for*, having made so much use of them to gather materials for your Structures and Superstructures. I cannot be perswaded, for all this, but that he knows it well enough, the passage being so remarkable in it self, and so dirtyed with the Nonconformists thumbs, that he could not possibly miss it: and I doubt he does but laugh at me now when, to save him a labour, I tell him in the simplicity of my heart, that even I my self met with

with it in *Ep. 57a ad Marcellinum*, and the words these, *Nimis autem longum est convenienter disputare de variis generibus signorum quæ cum ad res divinas pertinent Sacramenta appellantur.* But whether there be such a place or no, he hath no mind that his Answerer should make use of it: nor of the Schoolmen, whom before he had owned for the Authors of the Church of *England*'s Divinity; but would bind up the Answerer to the Law only and the Gospel. And now Mr. *Bayes* saith he will be of the School-mens opinion *as long as they speak Sense* and no longer, (and so I believe of Saint *Austin*'s) that is to say, so long as they will serve his turn: for all Politicians shake men off when they have no more use of 'm, or find them to thwart the design. But, Mr. *Bayes* why may not your Answerer or any man else quote St. *Austin*, as well as you may the Scripture? I am sure there is less danger of perverting the place, or of mis-interpretation. And though perhaps a Nonconformist may value the Authority of the Bible above that of the Fathers; yet the *Welch* have a Proverb, that the Bible and a Stone do well together: meaning perhaps, that if one miss the other will hit. You, that are a Duellist, know how great a bravery it is to gain your Enemys Sword, and that there is no more home-thrust in disputation, than the *Argumentum ad hominem*. So that if your Adversary fell upon you with one of your own Fathers, it was gallantly done on his part; and no less wisely on yours to fence in this manner, and use all your shifts to put it by. For you too, Mr. *Bayes*, do know, no man better, that it is not at all times safe nor honourable to be of a *Fathers* opinion.

Having escaped this danger; he grows, nor can I blame him, exceeding merry: and insults heavily over *Symbolical* whatsoever he meets with it, for in his

Answerer

Answerer I find it not. But whereſoever 'twas it ſerves to good purpoſe. For no man would imagine that he could have received ſo univerſal a Defeat, and appear in ſo good humour. A terrible Diſputant he is, when he has ſet up an hard word to be his Opponent; 'Tis a very wholeſome thing he knows, and prolongs life: for all the while he can keep up this ball, he may decline the Queſtion. But the poor Word is ſure to be mumbled and mowſled to purpoſe, and to be made an example. But let us, with Mr. *Bayes* his leave, examine the thing for once a little cloſer. The Non-conformiſts, as I took notice before, do object to ſome of the Rites of the Church of *England*, under the name of Symbolical or ſignificant Ceremonies. They obſerve the Church of *England* does in the diſcourſe of Ceremonies printed before the Common Prayer Book, declare that the retaining of thoſe Ceremonies, is not onely *as they ſerve for decent Order and Godly Diſcipline; but as they are apt to ſtir up the dull mind of man to the remembrance of his duty to God, by ſome ſpecial and notable ſignificancy, whereby he may be edified.* They further obſerve the Church of *England*'s definition of a Sacrament: That it is *an outward viſible ſign of an inward ſpiritual Grace.* They find theſe Ceremonies, ſo conſtituted, impos'd upon them by Authority; and more-over, according to our Authors principle, made a new part of the Divine Law. They therefore quarrel and except againſt theſe under the notion of Sacraments, and inſiſt that the Church is not impowred to inſtitute ſuch Ceremonies under ſuch obligations and penalties as they are impoſed. Or, if you will, in ſtead of Church you may ſay rather the Magiſtrate: for as much as our Author hath *pro hac vice* delivered the Keys and the whole power of the Houſe into his hands.

Now the Author having got them at this lock, cry Victory. Nothing less will serve him than a three days triumph, as if he had conquered *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*, and let him have a fourth day added, if he please, over the *Terra Incognita* of *Geneva*. There is no end of his Ostentation and Pageantry; and the dejected Non-conformists follow the wheels of his Chariot, to be led afterwards to the Prison and there executed. He had said p. 446. of his Second Book, *Here Cartwright begun his Objection, and here he was immediately check'd in his Carrear by* Whitgift (you might Mr. Author, for respect sake have called him at least Mr. if not Archbishop *Whitgift*) *who told him plainly, he could not be ignorant that to the making of a Sacrament, besides the external Element, there is required a Commandment of God in his Word that it should be done, and a promise annexed to it, whereof the Sacrament is a Seal.* And in pursuance hereof, p 447. our Author saith, *Here then I fix my foot, and dare him to his teeth, to prove that any thing can be capable of the nature or office of Sacraments that is not established by Divine Institution and upon Promise of Divine Acceptance.* Upon the confidence of this Argument 'tis that he *Hectors* and *Achilleses* all the Non-conformists out of the pit in this Preface. This is the Sword that was consecrated first upon the Altar, and thence presented to the Champions of the Church in all Ages. This is that with which Archbishop *Whitgift* gave *Cartwright his death's wound and laid the Puritan Reformation a gasping.* This is the weapon wherewith Master *Hooker* gained *those lasting and eternal Trophies over that baffled Cause.* This is that with which Bishop *Bramhal wrought those wonderful things that exceeded all belief.* This hath been wantonly tossed successively by the Writers of the *Friendly Debate*, and to this our Author. It is in conclusion the *Curtana* of our Church. 'Tis *Sir Salomon's* Sword, Cock of so many

many men as it hath been drawn againſt. Wo worth the man that comes in the way of ſo dead-doing a tooll, and when weilded with the arm of ſuch a *Scanderbag* as our Author. The Non-conformiſts had need deſire a Truce to bury their dead. Nay there are none left alive to deſire it: but they are ſlain every mother's Son of them. Yet perhaps they are but ſtounded and may revive again. For I do not ſee all this while, that any of them have written, as a great Prelate of ours, a Book of *Seven Sacraments*: or attempted to prove that thoſe *Symbolical* Ceremonies are indeed Sacraments. Nothing leſs. 'Tis that which they moſt labour againſt, and they complain that theſe things ſhould be impoſed on them with ſo high Penalty, as want nothing of a Sacramental nature but Divine Inſtitution. And becauſe an Humane Inſtitution is herein made an equal force to a Divine Inſtitution, therefore it is that they are agrieved. All that they mean, or could mean, as far as I or any man can perceive, is only that theſe Ceremonies are a kind of *Anti-Sacraments*, and ſo obtruded upon the Church, that without condeſcending to theſe additional Inventions, no man is to be admitted to partake of the true Sacraments which were of Chriſt's appointing. For, without the Sign of the Croſs, our Church will not receive any one to Baptiſm, as alſo without kneeling no man is ſuffered to come to the Communion. So that methinks, our Author and his partners have wounded themſelves only with this Argument: and have had as little occaſion here to ſing their *Te Deum*'s, as the *Roman* Emperour had to triumph over the Ocean, becauſe he had gathered Periwinkles and Scallop ſhells on the Beach. For the Author may transform their reaſonings as oft as he pleaſes (even as oft as he doth his own, or the Scriptures): but this is indeed their Fort out of which I do not ſee they are likely to be

beat with all our Authors Canon: that no such new Conditions ought to be imposed upon Christians by a less than Divine Authority, and unto which if they do not submit, though against their Consciences, they shall therefore be deprived of Communion with the Church. And I wonder that our Author *could not observe any thing in the Discourse of Evangelical Love, that was to the purpose, beside a perpetual repetition*, of the outworn story of unscriptural Ceremonies, and a peculiar uncouthness and obscurity of stile; when as this Plea is here for so many pages distinctly and vigorously insisted on. For it is a childish thing (how high soever our Author magnifies himself in this way of reasoning) either to demand from the Non-conformists a patern of their Worship from the Scripture, who affect therein a Simplicity, free from all exterior circumstances, but such as are natural or customary: or else to require of them some particular command against the Cross, or kneeling, and such like Ceremonies, which in the time of the Apostles and many Ages after were never thought of. But therefore general and applicable Rules of Scripture they urge as directions to the Conscience; unto which our Author gives no satisfactory Solution, but by superseding and extinguishing the Conscience, or exposing it to the severest penalties. But here I say then is their main exception, that things indifferent, and that have no proper signature, or significancy to that purpose, should by command be made necessary conditions of Church-Communion. I have many times wished for peaceableness-sake that they had a greater latitude; but if unless they should stretch their Consciences till they tear again, they cannot conform, what remedy? For I must confess that Christians have a better Right and Title to the Church, and to the Ordinances of God there, than the Author hath to his Surplice. And

that

that Right is so undoubted and ancient, that it is not to be innovated upon by humane restrictions and capitulations.

Bishop *Bramhall* p. 141. saith, *I do profess to all the world, that the transforming of indifferent Opinions into necessary Articles of Faith, hath been that* Insana Laurus, *or cursed Bay-tree, the cause of all our brawling and contention.* That which he saw in matter of Doctrine he would not discern in Discipline, whereas this among us, the transforming of things, at best indifferent, into necessary points of practice, hath been of as ill consequence. And (to reform a little my seriousness) I shall not let this pass without taking notice that you Mr. *Bayes*, being the most extravagant person in this matter that ever I heard of, as I have shown, you are mad, and so the *Insana Laurus*; so I wish you may not prove *that cursed Bay-tree too*, as the Bishop translates it. If you had thought of this, perhaps we might have missed both the Bishops Book and your Preface; for you see that sometimes no Man hath a worse friend than he brings from home.

It is true, and very piously done, that our Church does declare that the kneeling at the Lords Supper is not injoyned for adoration of those Elements, and concerning the other Ceremonies as before. But the *Romanists* (from whom we have them, and who said of old, we would come to feed on their Meat, as well as eat of their Porridge) do offer us here many a fair declaration, and distinction in very weighty matters, to which nevertheless the Conscience of our Church hath not complyed. But in this particular matter of of kneeling, which came in first with the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, the *Romish Church* do reproach us sence in the Bread and Wine, do yet pay to something

or other the same adoration. Suppose the Antient *Pagans* had declared to the Primitive Christians, that the offering of some grains of Incense was only to perfume the room, or that the delivering up of their Bibles, was but for preserving the Book more carefully. Do you think the Christians would have palliated so far, and colluded with their Consciences? Men are too prone to err on that hand. In the last King's time, some eminent Persons of our *Clergy* made an open defection to the Church of *Rome*. One, and he yet certainly a Protestant, and that hath deserved well of that cause, writ the Book of *Seven Sacraments*. One in the Church at present, though certainly no less a Protestant, could not abstain from arguing the *Holiness of Lent*: Doctor *Thorndike* lately dead, left for his Epitaph, *Hic jacet corpus Herberti Thorndike Prebendarij hujus Ecclesiæ qui vivus veram Reformatæ Ecclesiæ rationem & modum precibus studiisque prosequebatur*, and nevertheless he adds, *Tu Lector requiem ei & beatam in Christo resurrectionem precare*. Which thing I do thus sparingly set down, only to shew the danger of inventive piety; and if Men come once to add new devices to the Scripture, how easily they slide on into Superstition. Therefore, although the Church do consider her self so much as not to alter her Mode into the fancy of others, yet I cannot see why she ought to exclude those from Communion, whose weaker consciences cannot for fear of scandal step further. For the Non-conformists, as to these Declarations of our Church against the Reverence to the Creatures of Bread and Wine, and concerning the other Ceremonies as before, will be ready to think they have as much ground as that clause, "That whosoever should affirm the Wednesday Fast to be imposed with an intention to bind the Conscience, *should be punished*

"like the spreaders of false news; *which is, saith* a "learned Prelate plainly to them that understand it, "to evacuate the whole Law. For all human Power "being derived from God, and bound upon our "Consciences by his Power, not by Man; he that "saith it shall not bind the Conscience, saith it shall "be no Law, it shall have no Authority from God, "and then it hath none at all; and if it be not tyed "upon the Conscience, then to break it is no sin, "and then to keep it is no duty. So that a Law with-"out such an intention is a contradiction. It is a "Law only which binds if we please, and we may o-"bey when we have a mind to it, and to so much we are "tyed before the Constitution. But then if by such "a Declaration it was meant, that to keep such Fa-"sting-days was no part of a direct Commandment "from God, that is, God had not required them by "himself immediately, and so it was abstracting from "that Law no duty Evangelical, it had been below "the wisdom of the Contrivers of it, no man pretends "it, no man saith it, no man thinks it, and they might "as well have declared that that law was none of the ten Commandments, *p.* 59 of his first Book.

So much pains does that learned Prelate of his take (who ever he was) to prove a whole Parliament of *England* Coxcombs. Now I say that these Ecclesiastical Laws, with such Declarations concerning the Ceremonies by them injoined, might, *mutatis mutandis*, be taxed upon the same *Popish*. But I love not that task, and shall rather leave it to Mr. *Bayes* to paraphrase his learned Prelate. For he is very good at correcting the impertinence of Laws and Lawgivers, and though this work indeed be not for him, turn at present, yet it may be for the future. And I have heard a good Engineer say, That he never fortified any place so, but that he reserved a feeble

point, by which he knew how to take it, if there were occasion.

I know a medicine for Mr. *Bayes* his Hiccough (it is but naming *J. O.*) but I cannot tell certainly, though I have a shrew'd guess what is the cause of it. For indeed all his Arguments here are so abrupt and short, that I cannot liken them better, considering too that frequent and perpetual repetition. Such as this, *why may not the Soveraign Power bestow this Priviledge upon Ceremony, and Custom, by virtue of its prerogative? what greater Immorality is there in them when determined by the Command and Institution of the Prince, than when by the consent and institution of the people?* This the Tap-lash of what he said, p. 100. When the "Civil Magistrate takes upon him to determine any "particular Forms of outward Worship, 'tis of no "worse Consequence than if he should go about to "define the signification of all words used in the "Worship of God. And p. 108. of his first Book. "So that all the Magistrates power of instituting sig-"nificant Ceremonies, &c. can be no more Usurpati-"on upon the CONSCIENCES of Men, than if "the Soveraign Authority should take upon it self, as "some Princes have done, to define the signification "of words. And afterwards: The same gesture, and "actions are indifferently capable of signifying either "honour or contumely; and so words; and therefore "'tis necessary their signification should be determined "&c. 'Tis all very well worth reading, p. 441. of his Second Book. "'Tis no other usurpation upon their "Subjects Consciences than if he should take upon "him to refine their Language, and determine the "proper signification of all phrases imployed in Di-"vine Worship, as well as in Trades, Arts and "Sciences, p. 461. of the same; "Once we will "so far gratifie the tenderness of their Consci-

ences

" ences and curiosity of their Fancies, as to promise
" never to ascribe any other significancy to things than
" what himself is here content to bestow upon words.
" And 462. of the same. So that you see, my Com-
" parison between the signification of Words and
" Ceremonies stands firm as the Pillars of the Earth,
" and the Foundations of our Faith. Mr. *Bayes* might
I see, have spared Sir *Salomon's* Sword of the Divine
Institution of the Sacraments. Here is the terriblest
weapon in all his Armory; and therefore I perceive,
reserved by our Duellist for the last onset. And, I
who am a great well-wisher to the Pillars of the
Earth, or the eight Elephants, lest we should have
an Earth-quake; and much more a Servant to the
King's Prerogative, lest we should all fall into confu-
sion; and perfectly devoted to the Foundations of our
Faith, lest we should run out into Popery or Paga-
nism; have no heart to this incounter: lest if I
should prove that the *Magistrates* absolute unlimited
and uncontrolable Power doth not extend to define
the signification of all words, I should thereby not
only be the occasion of all those mischiefs mentioned,
but, which is of far more dismal Importance, the
loss of two or three so significant Ceremonies. But
though I therefore will not dispute against that Flow-
er of the Princes Crown, yet I hope that without do-
ing much harm, I may observe that for the most part
they left it to the people, and seldome themselves ex-
ercised it. And even *Augustus Cæsar*, though he was
so great an Emperour, and so valiant a man in his own
person, was used to fly from a new word though it were
single, as studiously as a Mariner would avoid a Rock
for fear of splitting. The differences of one Syllable in
the same word hath madeas considerable a Controversy
as most have been in the Church, betwixt the *Homousians*

and the *Hamoiousions*. One letter in the name of Beans in *Languedoc*, one party calling them *Faves*, and the other *Haves*; as the transposition only of a letter another time in the name of a Goat, by some called *Grabe*, and by others *Cabre*, was the loss of more mens lives than the distinguishing but by an Aspiration in *Shiboleth* upon the like occasion. So that if a man would be learnedly impertinent, he might enlarge here to shew that 'tis as dangerous to take a man by the tongue, as a bear by the tooth. And had I a mind to play the Politician, like Mr. *Bayes*, upon so pleasant and copious a Subject, I would demonstrate that though the imposition of Ceremonies hath bred much mischief in the world, yet (shall I not venture too upon one word once for a tryal) such a Penetration or Transubstantiation of Language would throw all into Rebellion and Anarchy, would shake the Crowns of all Princes, and reduce the World into a second *Babel*. Therefore, Mr. *Bayes*, I doubt you were not well advised to make so close an Analogy betwixt imposing of significant words and significant Ceremonies: for I fear the Argument may be improved against you, and that Princes finding that of words so impracticable, and of ill consequence, will conclude that of Ceremonies to be no less pernicious. And the Nonconformists (who are great Traders, you know, in Scripture, and therefore thrown out of the Temple) will be certainly on your back. For they will appropriate your pregnant Text of *Let all things be done decently and in order*, to preaching or praying in an unknown Tongue, which such an imposition of words would be: and then, to keep you to your Similitude, they will say too that yours are all Latine Ceremonies, and the Congregation does not understand them. But were not this Dominion of words so dangerous (for how

how many millions of men did it cost your *Roman* Empire to attain it!)Yet it was very unmannerly in you to assign to Princes, who have enough beside, so mean a trouble. When you gave them leave to exercise the Priesthood in person, that was something to the purpose; That was both Honourable, and something belongs to it that would have help'd to bear the charge. But this Mint of words will never quit cost, nor pay for the coynage. This is such a drudgery; that rather than undergo it, I dare say, there is no Prince but would resign to you so Pedantical a Soveraignty. I cannot but think how full that Princes head must be of Proclamations. For, if he published but once a Proclamation to that purpose, he must forthwith set out another to stamp and declare the signification of all the words contained in it, and then another to appoint the meaning of all the words in this, and so on: that here is work cut out in one Paper of State for the whole Privy Council, both Secretaries of State, and all the Clerks of the Council, for one Kings Reign, and *in infinitum*. But, I cannot but wonder, knowing how ambitious Mr. *Bayes* is of the power over words, and jealous of his own Prerogative of refining Language, how he came to be so liberal of it to the Prince: Why, the same thing that induced him to give the Prince a power antecedent and independent to *Christ*, and to establish what Religion he pleased, &c. Nothing but his spight against the Nonconformists. I know not that thing in the world, except a Jest, that he would not part with to be satisfied in that particular. He hoped doubtless by holding up this Maxim, to obtain that the words of the declaration of *March* 15. should be understood by contraries You may well think he expected no less an equivalent, he would never else have permitted the Prince even to

define

define the signification of all words used in the Worship of God, and to determine the proper signification of all Phrases imploy'd in Divine Worship: Nay, Mr. *Bayes*, if it be come to that, and you will surrender your Liturgy to the Prince, I know not what you mean; for 'tis bound up with your Bible. Was it ever heard that that Book so sacred, and in which there could not one error be found by all the *Presbyterians* at the *Worcester-House*-Conference, should, upon so uncertain a prospect, be now abandon'd so far as that every word and Phrase in it may receive a new and contrary signification! But the King for ought I see likes it well as it is (and therefore I do so too). Yet in case His Majesty should ever think fit to reform it, and because such kind of work is usually referred back to some of the Clergy; I would gladly put in a *Caveat*, that our Author may in no case be one of them. For 'tis known that Mr, *Bayes* is subject to a distemper; and who knows but when he is in a fit, as he made such mad alterations of the fruit of the Spirit in the Epistle for the day, he may as well insert in some other part of the *Service*, *Welfare poor Macedo for a modest Fool*; and then, *Oh how I hug thee, Dear heart, for this!* and pretend that the Supreme Magistrate should stamp upon it a signification sacred and serious. I would not have spoken so severely of him, but that his *more laboured periods*, as he calls them, are so often fill'd with much bolder and more unwholesome translations. But however that he may not at his better intervals be wholly unemployed in the work of Uniformity, I should recommend to him rather to turn the *Liturgy* and the *Rationale* into the Universal Language, and so in time the whole world might come to be of his Perswasion.

When he was drawn thus low, did not he think

you

you, ſtand need of tilting? He had done much more ſervice to the Cauſe, had he laid by all thoſe cheating Argumentations, and dealt candidly, like the good Arch Deacon not long ſince dead; who went about both Court and Countrey, preaching upon the *Cloke left at Troas, and the Books, but eſpecially the Parchments.* The honeſt Man had found out there the whole Liturgy, the Canonical habits, and all the Equipage of a Conformiſt. This was ſomething to the matter in hand, to produce Apoſtolical Example and Authority: And much more to the purpoſe than that beaten Text of *doing all things decently and in order.*

One Argument I confeſs remains ſtill behind, and that will juſtifie any thing. 'Tis that which I call'd lately *Rationem ultimam Cleri*; Force, Law, Execution, or what you will have it. I would not be miſtaken, as though I hereby meant the body of the *Engliſh* Clergy, who have been ever ſince the Reformation (I ſay it without diſparagement to the Foraign Churches) of the Eminenteſt for Divinity and Piety in all Chriſtendom. And as far am I from cenſuring, under this title, the Biſhops of *England*, for whoſe Function, their Learning, their Perſons I have too deep a veneration to ſpeak any thing of them irreverently. But thoſe that I intend only, are a particular bran of perſons, who will in ſpight of Fate be accounted the Church of *England*, and to ſhew they are Pluraliſts, never write in a modeſter Stile than *we, we*; nay, even theſe, ſeveral of them, are Men of parts ſufficient to deſerve a Rank among the Teachers and Governors of the Church. Only what Biſhop *Bramhal* ſaith of *Grotius* his deſect in School Divinity;

unum hoc maceror & doleo tibi deesse.

I may apply to their excess and rigour in matter of Discipline. They want all consideration, all moderation in those things; and I never heard of any of them at any time, who, if they got into Power or Office, did ever make the least experiment or overture towards the peace of the Church and Nation they lived in. They are the *Politick would be's* of the Clergy. Not Bishops, but Men that have a mind to be Bishops, and that will do any thing in the World to compass it. And, though Princes have always a particular mark upon these Men, and value them no more than they deserve, yet I know not very well, or perhaps I do know, how it oftentimes happens that they come to be advanced. They are Men of a fiery nature, that must always be uppermost, and so they may increase their own Slendor, care nor though they set all on flame about them. You would think the same day that they took up Divinity they divested themselves of Humanity, and so they may procure and execute a Law against the Non-conformists, that they had forgot the Gospel. They cannot endure that Humility, that Meekness, that strictness of Manners and Conversation, which is the true way of gaining Reputation and Authority to the Clergy; much less can they content themselves with the ordinary and comfortable provision that is made for the Ministry: But, having wholy calculated themselves for Preferment, and Grandeur, know or practise no other means to make themselves venerable but by Ceremony and Severity. Whereas the highest advantage of promotion is the opportunity of condescention, and the greatest dignity in our Church can but raise them to the Title of *Your Grace*, which

which is in the Latine *Vestra Clementia*. But of all these, none are so eager and virulent, as some, who having had relation to the late times, have got access to *Ecclesiastical Fortune*, and are resolved to make their best of her. For so, of all Beasts, none are so fierce and cruel as those that have been taught once by hunger to prey upon their own kind; as of all Men, none are so inhumane as the *Canibals*. But whether this be the true way of ingratiating themselves with a generous and discerning Prince, I meddle not; nor whether it be an ingenuous practice towards those whom they have been formerly acquainted with: but whatsoever they think themselves obliged to for the approving of their new Loyalty; I rather commend. That which astonishes me, and only raises my indignation is, that of all sorts of Men this kind of Clergy should always be, and have been for the most precipitate, brutish, and sanguinary Counsels. The former Civil War cannot make them wise, nor his Majesties happy Return, good natured; but they are still for running things up unto the same extreams. The softness of the Universities where they have been bred, the gentleness of Christianity, in which they have been nurtured, hath but exasperated their nature; and they seem to have contracted no *Ideé* of wisdom, but what they learnt at School, the Pedantry of Whipping. They take themselves qualified to Preach the Gospel, and no less to intermeddle in affairs of State: Though the reach of their Divinity is but to persecution, and an Inquisition is the height of their Policy.

And you Mr. *Bayes*, had you lived in the dayes of *Augustus Cæsar* (be not scandalized, for why may you not bring sixteen hundred years, as well as five hours into one of your Plays) would not you have made think you, an excellent Privy Counsellour? His Father

too

too was murdered. Or, (to come nearer both to our times, and your resemblance of the late War, which you trumpet always in the Ear of his Majesty) had you happen'd in the time of *Henry* the *fourth* of *France*, should not you have done well in the Cabinet? His Predecessor too was assassinated. No, Mr. *Bayes*, you would not have been for their purpose: They took other measures of Government, and accordingly it succeeded with them. And His Majesty, whose Genius hath much of both those Princes, and who derives half of the Blood in his Veins from the latter, will in all probability not be so forward to hearken to your advice as to follow their example. For these Kings, Mr. *Bayes*, how negligent soever or ignorant you take 'm to be, have, I doubt, a shrewd understanding with them. 'Tis a Trade, that God be thanked, neither you nor I are of, and therefore we are not so competent Judges of their Actions. I my self have oftentimes seen them, some of them, do strange things, and unreasonable in my opinion, and yet a little while, or sometimes many years after, I have found that all the men in the world could not have contrived any thing better. 'Tis not with them as with you. You have but one Cure of Souls, or perhaps two, as being a Noblemans Chaplain, to look after: And if you make Conscience of discharging them as you ought, you would find you had work sufficient, without writing your *Ecclesiastical Policies*. But they are the Incumbents of whole Kingdoms, and the Rectorship of the Common people, the Nobility, and even of the Clergy, whom you are prone to *affirm when possest with principles that incline to rebellion and disloyal practices, to be of all Rebels the most dangerous*, p. 49. the care I say of all these, rests upon them. So that they are fain to condescend to many things for peace-

sake,

sake, and the quiet of Mankind, that your proud heart would break before it would bend to. They do not think fit to require any thing that is impossible, unnecessary, or wanton, of their people; but are fain to consider the very temper of the Climate in which they live, the Constitution and Laws under which they have been formerly bred, and upon all occasions to give them good words, and humour them like Children. They reflect upon the Histories of former times, and the present Transactions to regulate themselves by in every circumstance. They have heard that one of your *Roman* Emperours, when his Captain of the Life-Guard came for the Word, by giving it unhandsomly, received a Dagger. They observe how the Parliament of *Poland* will be their Kings Taylor, and among other reasons, because he would not wear their Mode, have suffered the *Turk* enter, as coming nearer their Fashion. Nay, that even *Alexander* the *Great* had almost lost all he had conquered by forcing his Subjects to conform to the *Persian* habit. That the King of *Spain*, when upon a Progress he enters *Biscai*, is pleased to ride with one Leg naked, and above all to take care that there be not a Bishop in his Retinue. So their people will pay their Taxes in good Gold and Silver, they demand no Subsidy of so many bushel of Fleas, lest they should receive the same answer with the Tyrant, that the Subject could not furnish that quantity, and besides they would be leaping out still before they could be measured, and should they fine the people for non-payment, they reckon there would be little got by distraining. They have been told that a certain Queen being desired to give a Town-Seal to one of her Subjects, lighting from Horse, sate down naked on the Snow, and left them that Impression, and though it caused no

disturbance

disturbance, but all the Towv-Leases are Letters-Patents; Kings do not approve the Example. That the late Queen of *Sweden* did her self no good with saying, *Io non voglio governar le Bestie*, but afterwards resigned. That the occasion of the revolt of *Switzerland* from the Emperor and its turning Commonwealth, was only the imposing of a Civil Ceremony by Capricious Governour, who set up a Pole in the high-way, with a Cap upon the top of it, to which he would have all Passengers be uncover'd, and doobeysance. One sturdy *Swiss*, that would not conform, thereupon overturn'd the Government, as 'tis at large in History. That the King of *Spain* lost *Flanders* chiefly upon introducing the Inquisition. And you now Mr. *Bayes* will think these, and an hundred more that I could tell you, but idle stories, and yet Kings can tell how to make use of 'm. And hence 'tis that instead of assuming your unhopable jurisdiction, they are so satisfied with the abundance of their power, that they rather think meet to abate of its exercise by their discretion. The greater fortune is, they are content to to use the less extravagancy. But because I see, Mr. *Bayes*, you are a little deaf on this ear I will talk somewhat closer to you. In this very matter of Ceremonies, which you are so bent upon, that your mind is always running on't, when you should be hearkening to the Sermon, do not you think that the King knows every word you said, although he never gave your Book the reading? That you say, that the Clause 50 *Eliz.* of the *Wednesday*-Fast has been the original of all the Puritan-Disorders. That the Controversy is now reduced only to two or three Symbolical Ceremonies. That these Ceremonies are things indifferent in their own nature, and have no antecedent necessity, but onely bind as they

they are commanded. That they signifie nothing in themselves but what the Commander pleases. That the Church it self declares that there is nothing of Religion or adoration in them. That they are no parts of Religious Worship. That they are onely Circumstances. That the imposing of a significant Ceremony, is no more than to impose significancy upon a word. That there is not a word of any of these Ceremonies in the Scriptures. That they are in themselves of no great moment and consequence, but 'tis absolutely necessary that Government should injoyn them, to avoid the evil that would follow if they were not determined: and that there cannot be a Pin pull'd out of the Church, but the State immediately totters. Do not you think that the King has considered all these things? I believe he has; and perhaps, as you have minced the matter, he may well think the Nonconformists have very nice Stomacks, that they cannot digest such choppd hay: But on the other side, he must needs take you to be very strange men, to cram these in spite down the throats of any Christian. If a man have an Antipathy against any thing, the Company is generally so civil, as to refrain the use of it, however not to press it upon the person. If a man be sick or weak, the Pope grants a Dispensation from Lent, or Eating dayes: ly, and from many a thing that strikes deeper in his Religion. If one have got a cold, their betters will force them to be covered. There is no end of Similitudes: but I am led into them by your calling these Ceremonies, Pins of the curious, and that is settled (God be praised) pretty.

pretty fast in his Throne, to try for experiment, whether the pulling out of one of these Pins would make the State totter. But, Mr. *Bayes*, there is more in it. 'Tis matter of Conscience: and if Kings do, out of discretion, connive at the other infirmities of their People; If great persons do out of civility condescend to their inferiours; and if all men out of common humanity do yield to the weaker; Will your Clergy only be the men, who, in an affair of Conscience, and where perhaps 'tis you are in the wrong, be the onely hard-hearted and inflexible Tyrants; and not only so, but instigate and provoke Princes to be the Ministers of your cruelty? But, I say, Princes, as far as I can take the height of things so far above me, must needs have other thoughts, and are past such boys-play to stake their Crowns against your Pins. They do not think fit to command things unnecessary, and where the profit cannot countervail the hazard. But above all they consider, that God has instated them in the Government of Mankind, with that incumbrance (if it may so be called) of reason, and that incumbrance upon Reason of Conscience. That he might have given them as large an extent of ground and other kind of cattle for their Subjects: but it had been a melancholy Empire to have been only supreme Graziers and Sovraign Shepherds. And therefore, though the laziness of that brutal magistracy might have been more secure, yet the difficulty of this does make it more honourable. That men therefore are to be dealt with reasonably: and conscientious men by Conscience. That even Law is force, and the execution of that Law a greater Violence; and therefore with a rational creature not to be used but upon the utmost extremity. That the Body is in the power of the

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ral punishments do never reach the offender, but the innocent suffers for the guilty. That the mind is in the hand of God, and cannot correct those perswasions which upon the best of it natural capacity it hath collected: So that it too, though erroneous, is so far innocent. That the Prince therefore, by how much God hath indued him with a clearer reason, and by consequence with a more enlightned judgement, ought the rather to take heed lest by punishing Conscience, he violate not onely his own, but the Divine Majesty. But as to that *Mr. Bayes*, which you still inculcate of the late War, and its horrid Catastrophe, which you will needs have to be upon a religious account: 'Tis four and twenty years ago, and after an *Act of Oblivion*; and for ought I can see, it had been as seasonable to have shown *Cæsars* bloody Coat, or *Thomas a Beckets* bloody Rochet. The chief of the offenders have long since made satisfaction to Justice; and the whole Nation hath been swept sufficiently of late years by those terrible scourges of Heaven: So that methinks you might in all this while have satiated your mischievous appetite. Whatsoever you suffered in those times, his Majesty who had much the greater loss, knowing that the memory of his Glorious Father will alwayes be preserved, is the best Judge how long the revenge ought to be pursued. But if indeed out of your superlative care of his Majesty and your *Living*, you are afraid of some new disturbance of the same nature, let me so far satisfie you as I am satisfied. The Non-conformists say that they are bound in conscience, to act as far as they can, and for the rest to suffer to the utmost. But because though they do mean honestly, 'tis so hard a Chapter for one that thinks himself in the right

right to suffer extremities patiently; that some think it impossible; I say next, that it's very seldom seen that in the same age, a Civil War, after such an interval, has been raised again upon the same pretences: But Men are also weary, that he would be knock'd on the head that should raise the first disturbance of the same nature. A new War must have, like a Book that would sell, a new Title.

I am asham'd Mr. *Bayes* that you put me on talking thus impertinently, (for Policy in us is so). Therefore to be short, the King hath so indulged and obliged the Non-conformists by his late mercy, that if there were any such Knave, there can be no such Fool among them, that would ever lift up an ill thought against him. And for you Mr. *Bayes* he is assured of your Loyalty, so that I think you may enjoy your *Living* very peaceably, which I know is all your business. 'Twas well replyed of the *English* man in *Edward* the Fourths time, to the *French* man that ask'd him insulting, When they should see us there again? *When your sins are greater than ours.* There are as many occasions of War, as there are Vices in a Nation: And therefore it concerns a Prince to be watchful on all hands. But should Kings remember an injury as long as you implacable Divines do, or should we take up Arms upon your Becks, because your Ecclesiastical Policy is answered, to revenge your quarrel, the World would never be at quiet. Therefore *Mr. Bayes*, let all those things of former times alone, and mind your own business; for Kings, believe me, as they have Royal understandings, so have Gentlemens memories.

And

And now, Master *Bayes*, I think it is time to take my leave, having troubled you with so long a tale. Onely before I quit this matter, because I do not love to be accounted singular in my opinion, I will add the judgement of one Author, and that as pertinent as I could pick out to our purpose. I have observed that not onely other Princes, but Queen *Elizabeth* too hath the misfortune to be much out of your favour. But for what reason I cannot possibly imagine; for none ever deserved better as to the thing of Uniformity, unless it be the ill luck she had to pass that *impertinent Clause* in the Act of the fifth of *Elizabeth*, of the *Jejunium Ceciliannum*. You cannot, for her sake, indure the Wit or Learning of her times, but say, pag. 94. of your second Book, "Though this trifling Artifice of sprinkling little "fragments of Wit, and Poetry might have passed "for Wit and Learning in the days of Queen *Eliza-*"*beth*, yet to men of Learning, Reading and In-"genuity, their vulgar use has sullied their lustre, "and abated their value. This is indeed, Mr. *Bayes*, a very labour'd period, and prepared by you, I believe, on purpose as a model of the wit and Eloquence of your days. But not onely so; but page 483. of the same Book, I think you call her in derision, and most spightfully and unmannerly, plain *Old Elsibeth*. And those that knew her humour, think you could not have disoblig'd her more than in stiling her so; both as a Woman, which Sex never love to be thought old, and as a Queen who was jealous, lest Men should therefore talk of the succession. Besides the irreverent nick-name you give her, that you might as well have presumed to call her *Queen Bess*, or *Bold Bettrice*. Now to the

end

egd that that Queen of famous Memory may have a little Female revenge upon you, and to give you a taſt of the Wit and Learning even of her times; I will *ſprinkle* here one *Fragment*, which not being a *Scholar-like ſaying of antient Poet or Philoſopher*, but of a Reverend Divine, I hope, Maſter *Baya* may be leſs diſpleaſing to you. The Man is *Parker*, not *Robert Parker*, who writ another Treatiſe of Eccleſiaſtical Policy, and the Book *de Cruce*, for which if they had catch'd him, he had poſſibly gone to the Gallows, or at leaſt the Gallyes. For he was one of thoſe well-meaning Zealots, that are of all Villains the moſt dangerous. But it is the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, *Parker*, (For if I named him before without addition, 'twas what I learnt of you ſpeaking of *Whitgift*) He in his Book *de Antiquitatibus Eccleſiæ Britannicæ*, page 47. ſpeaking of the ſlaughter of the Monks of *Bangor*, and ſo many Chriſtians more, upon the inſtigation of *Auſtin* the the Monk, who ſtirred up *Ethilbert* King of *Kent* againſt them, becauſe they would not receive the Romiſh Ceremonies; uſeth theſe words, *Et ſanè illa prima de Romanis Ritibus indvendis per Auguſtinum tunc excitata contentio, quæ non niſi cladè & ſanguine innocentium Brittannorum poterat extingui; ad noſtra recentiora tempora, cum ſimili pernicie cadeque Chriſtianorum pervenit. Cum enim illis glorioſis ceremoniis à purâ Primitivæ Eccleſiæ ſimplicitate receſſerunt, non de vitæ ſanctitate, de Evangelij prædicatione, de ſpiritus ſancti vi & conſolatione multum laborabant; ſed novas indies altercationes de novis ritibus per Papas ſingulos additis, qui neminem tam excelſo gradu dignum qui*

aliquid,

aliquid. ceremoniosi non dicam, monstrosi inauditi & inusitati non adjecisset; instituebant. Suggestaque & scholas fabulis rixisque suis implebant. Nam prima Ecclesiæ species simplicior & integro & interno Dei cultu, ab ipso Verbo *præscripto, nec vestibus splendidis, nec magnificis structuris decorata, nec auro, argento, gemmisque fulgens fuit: Etsi liceat his exterioribus uti modo animum ab illo interiori & integro Dei cultu non abducant; Curiosis & morosis ritibus ab illâ primævâ & rectâ simplicitate Evangelicâ degeneravit. Illa autem in Romanâ Ecclesiâ rituum multitudo ad immensum illius magni Augustini Hipponensis Episcopi temporibus creverat: ut questus sit Christianorum in Ceremoniis & ritibus duriorem quàm Judæorum, qui etiamsi tempus Libertatis non agnoverint, Legalibus tamen sarcinis non humanis præsumptionibus subjiciebanter; nam paucioribus in divino cultu quàm Christiani Ceremoniis utebantur. Qui si sensisset quantus deinde per singulos Papas coacervatus cumulus accessit, modam Christianum credo ipse statuisset; qui hoc malum tunc in Ecclesiâ viderat. Videmus enim ab illâ ceremoniarum contentione nedum Ecclesiam esse vacuam; quin homines alioquin docti atque pii de vestibus & hujusmodi nugis ad huc, rixoso magis & militari, quàm aut philosophico aut Christiano more inter se digladiantur.* These words do run direct against the Genius of some men that contributed not a little to the late Rebellion, and, though so long since writ, do so exactly describe that evill spirit with which some men are even in these times possest, who seem desirous upon the same grounds to put all things in combustion, that I think them very well worth the labour of translating. [And indeed, that first contention then raised by *Augustine* about the introducing of the Romish Ceremonies, which could not be quenched but by the blood and slaughter of the innocent *Britains*; hath been continued e'n to

our later times, with the like miſchief and murde
of Chriſtians. For when once by thoſe glorious
Ceremonies they forſook the pure ſimplicity of th
Primitive Church, they did not much troubl
themſelves about Holineſs of Life, the preachin
of the Goſpel, the efficacy and comfort of th
Holy Spirit: but they fell every day into ne
ſquabbles about new-fangled Ceremonies added b
every Pope, who reckoned no man worthy of
high a degree but ſuch as invented ſomewhat,
will not ſay Ceremonious, but monſtrous, unheard
of, and before unpractiſed; and they fill'd th
Schools and the Pulpits with their Fables an
brawling of ſuch matters. For the firſt beauty
the Church had more of ſimplicity and plainneſs
and was neither adorned with ſplendid veſtments
nor magnificent ſtructures, nor thin'd with gold
ſilver, and precious ſtones; but with the inte
and inward worſhip of God, as it was by Chri
himſelf preſcribed, Although it may be lawfull t
uſe theſe external things, ſo they do not lead th
mind aſtray from that more inward and ſpi
Worſhip of God; by thoſe curious and crabbe
Rites it degenerated from that antient and right E
vangelical ſimplicity. But that multitude of Ri
in the Romiſh Church, had unmeaſurably in-
creaſed in the times of that great *Auguſtine* the
Biſhop of *Hippo*, in ſo much that he complains
that the condition of Chriſtians, as to Rites an
Ceremonies, was then harder than that of th
Jews; who although they did not diſcern the ti
of their Liberty, yet were only ſubjected to Leg
burthens, inſtituted firſt by God himſelf, not
humane Preſumptions. For they uſed fewer C
remonies in the Worſhip of God, than Chriſtian
Who, if he could have foreſeen how great a he
of them was afterwards piled up, and added by
ſeve

several Popes, he himself doubtless would have restrained it within Christian measure, having already perceived this growing evil in the Church. For we see, that even yet the Church is not free from that contention: but men, otherwise learned and pious, do still cut and slash about Vestments and such kind of trifles, rather in a swashbuckler and Hectoring way, than either like Philosophers or like Christians.]

Now Mr. *Bayes*, I doubt you must be put to the trouble of writing another Preface against this Arch-bishop. For nothing in your Answerer's Treatise of *Evangelical Love* does so gird or aim at you, for ought I can see, or at those whom you call the Church of *England*, as this Passage. But the last period does so plainly delineate you to the life, that what St. *Austine* did not presage, the Bishop seems to have foreseen most distinctly. 'Tis just your way of writing all along in this matter. You bring nothing sound or solid. Only you think you have got the *Great Secret*, or the *Philosophers stone* of Railing, and I believe it, you have so multiplied it in *Projection* e and as they into Gold, so you turn every thing you meet with into Railing. And yet the Secret is not great, nor the *Process* long or difficult, if a man would study it, and make a trade on't. Every Scold hath it naturally. It is but crying Whore first, and having the last word, and whatsoever t'other sayes, cry, Oh these are your Nonconfor mist's tricks, Oh you have learnt this of the Puritans in *Grubstreet*. Oh you white-aprond Gossip. For indeed, I never saw provident a fetch: you have taken in before hand of all the Posts of railing, and so beset all the Topicks of just crimination, foreseeing where you are feeble, that if this trick would pass, it were impossible to open ones mouth to find the least

fault with you. For in your first Chapter of your Second Book, beside what you do alwaies in an hundred places when you are at a loss, you have spent almost an hundred Pages upon *a Character of the Fanatick deportment toward all Adversaries.* And then on the other side, you have so ingrossed and bought up all the Ammunition of Railing, search'd every corner in the Bible, and *Don Quixot* for Powder, that you thought, not unreasonably, that that there was not one shot left for a Fanatick. But truth, you see, cannot want words: and she laugh too sometimes when she speaks, and rather than all fail too, be serious. But what will you say to that of the Arch-bishops, *than either like Philosophers or like Christians?* For the excellency of your Logick, Philosophy and Christianity in all your Books, is either, as in Conscience, to take away the subject of the question: or, as in the Magistrate, having gotten one absurdity, to raise a thousand more from it. So that, except the manufacture and labour of your periods, you have done no more than any School boy could have done on the same terms. And so, Mr. *Bayes*, Goodnight.

And now Good-morrow Mr. *Bayes*; For though it seems so little a time and that you are now going to bed, it hath been a whole live-long night, and you have toss'd up and down in many a troublesome dream, and are but just now awaked at the Title page of your book: *A Preface shewing what grounds there are of fears and jealousies of Popery.* It is something artificially couch'd, but looks, as if it did allow, that there are some grounds of fears and jealousies of that nature. But here in words it, *a Consideration what likelihood, or how much danger there is of the return of Popery into this Nation.* Had he not come to this at last, I should have thought

thought I had been all this while reading a Chapter in *Mountague's Essayes*; where you find sometimes scarce one word in the discourse of the matter held forth in the Title. But now indeed he takes up this Argument and debates it to purpose. For I had before begun to shew that he had writ not only his two former Books but especially too this Preface, with an evil eye and aim at his Majesty, and the measures he had taken of Government. And whoever will take the pains to read here, will soon be of my mind. His Majesty had I said, the 15*th* of *March* 1671. issued his Declaration of Indulgence to tender Consciences. He, on the contrary, issues out thereupon, all in haste and as fast as he could write, this his Remonstrance or Manifesto against Indulgence to tender Consciences: and to make his Majesties proceedings more odious, stirs up this seditious matter, of what probability there is of Popery. And this he discourses, to be sure, in his own imagination very cunningly. For he knows that there was an Act of Parliament in this Kings Reign with a greater penalty than that of 50 *Eliz.* of spreading false News, against reports of this nature. And therefore, he resolves to handle it so warily, that he himself might escape, but might draw others that should answer him, within the danger of that Act, and that he may lay the crime at their doors. But, notwithstanding all his slights and *L'gerdemain*, it doth enough detect his malice & ill intention to his Majesties Government, that he should take this occasion, altogether foreign and unseasonable, to raise a publick and solemn discourse through the whole Nation, concerning a matter the most odious and dangerous that could be exposed. So that now, no man can look at the wall, no man can pass by a Booksellers stall, but

he must see *A Preface shewing what GROUNDS there are for FEARS and JEALOUSIES of POPERY.*

It had been something a safer and more dutiful way of writing, A Preface shewing the CAUSELESNESS of the Fears and Jealousies of POPERY. For I do not think it will excuse a Witch, to say, That she conjur'd up a Spirit only that she might lay it, nor can there be a more dexterous and malicious way of calumny, than by making a needless Apology for another, in a criminal subject. As, suppose I should write a Preface showing what Grounds there are of Fears and Jealousies of *Bayes* his being and Atheist. But this is exactly our Authors method and way of contrivance; whereby more effectually by far than by any flying Coffee-house tattle, he traduces the State, and by Printing so pernicious a question, fills all mens mouths, and beats out all mens eyes with the probability of the return of POPERY. Had he heard any that malignly and officiously talk'd to such a purpose, it had been the part of one so prudent as he is, not to have continued the Discourse. Had he (as he hath a great gift that way) pick'd up out of any mans talk or writing, matter whereof to make an ill story; there was a better and more regular way of proceeding, had he meant honestly to his Majesties Government, to have prevented the evil, and to have brought the offender to punishment. He should have gone to one of the Secretaries of State, or to some other of his Majesties Privy Council, and have given them Information. But, in stead of that, I am afraid that in the survey of this business, we shall find, that even some of them are either accused, or shrewdly mark'd out with a Character of our Authors displeasure. Therefore, I will now come nearer to his matter in hand, although it concernes me to be careful of coming

coming too near, nor shall I dwell too long upon so jealous and impertinent a subject.

To consider what likelihood or how much danger there is of the return of Popery into this Nation. The very first word is; *For my part I know none.* Very well considered. Why then, Mr. *Bayes*, I must tell you, that if I had Printed a Book or Preface upon that Argument, I should have thought my self, at least a Fool for my labour. The next consideret is mine Enemy; I mean he is an Enemy to the State, whoever shall foment such discourses without any likelihood or danger. Yet Mr. *Bayes* you know, I have for a good while had no great opinion of your Integrity; neither here. I doubt you prevaricate a little with some body. For I suppose you cannot be ignorant that some of your superiors of your Robe did, upon the publishing that Declaration, give the word, and deliver Orders through their ecclesiastical Camp, to beat up the Pulpit-drums against Popery. Nay, even so much that there was care taken too for arming the *poor Readers, that though they came short of Preachers in point of efficacy, yet they might be enabled* to do something *in point of* common *Security*. So that, though for so many years, those your superiors had forgot there was any such thing in the Nation as a Popish Recusant, though *Polemical* and *Controversial Divinity* had for so long been hung up in the Halls, like the rusty obsolete Armour of our Ancestors, for monuments of Antiquity; and for derision rather than service; all on a sudden (as if the 15*th* of *March* had been the 5*th* of *November*) happy was he that cold climb up first to get down one of the old Cuirasses, or an Habergeon that had been worn in the dayes of Queen *Elizabeth*. Great variety there was and heavy doo. Some clapp'd it on all rusty as it was, others fell of oyl-

ing and furbishing their armour: Some piss'd in their Barrels, others spit in their Pans, to scour them. Here you might see one put on his Helmet the wrong way: there one Buckle on a back in place of a breast. Some by mistake catched up a *Socinian* Arminian Argument, and some a Popish to fight a Popish. Here a Dwarf lost in the accoutrements of a Giant: there a *Don-Quixot* in an equipage of differing pieces, and of several Parishes. Never was there such Incongruity and Nonconformity in their furniture. One ran to borrow a Sword of *Calvin*. This man for a Musket from *Beza*: that for a Bandeleers even from *Kecherman*. But when they came to seek Match, and Bullet, and Power, there was none to be had. The Fanaticks had bought it all up, and made them pay for it most unconscionably, and through the nose. And no less sport was it to see their Leaders. Few could tell how to give the word of Command, nor understood to drill a Company: They were as unexpert as their Soldiers awkward: and the whole was as pleasant a spectacle, as the exercising of the Train'd-bands in —— *shire*. But Mr. *Bayes* (for I believe you do nothing but upon common advice) either this was all intended but for a false alarum, and was only for a pretence to take arms against the Fanaticks (which you might have done without raising all this din and obloquy against the State, and disquieting his Majesties good Subjects:) or else you did really think (and who can help misapprehensions?) that you did know some likelihood or danger of the return of Popery I crave you mercy Mr *Bayes*, I took you a little short. *For my part I know none*, you say, *but the Nonconformists boysterous and unreasonable opposition to the Church of England.*

This I confess hath some weight in it. For truly before

before *I knew none* too, I was of your Opinion Mr. *Bayes*, & believed that Popery could never return into *England* again, but by some very sinister accident. This expression of mine is something uncouth, and therefore because I love to give you satisfaction in all things Mr. *Bayes*, I will acquaint you with my reason of using it. *Henry* the *fourth* of *France*, his Majesties Grandfather, lived (you know) in the dayes of Queen *Elizabeth*. Now the wit of *France* and *England*, as you may have observed, is much of the same mode, and hath at all times gone much after the same current Rate and Standard; only there hath been some little difference in the alloy, and advantage or disadvantage in the exchange according to mens occasions. Now *Henry the fourth*, was (you know too) a Prince like Bishop *Bramhall*, *of a brave and enterprising temper, and had a mind large and active enough to have managed the Roman Empire at its utmost extent*; *and* particularly (*as far as the prejudice of the age* (*Old Elsibeths* Age) *would permit him*) he was very wittie and facetious, and the Courtiers strove to humour him alwaies in it, and increase the mirth. So one night after supper he gave a Subject (which recreation did well enough in those times, but were now insipid) upon which, like Boyes at *Westminster*, they should make *French* Verse extempore. The Subject was, *un Accident sinistre*. Straight answers, I know not whether 'twas *Bassampierre* or *Obigné*:

un sinistre Accident & un Accident sinistre;
De veoir un Pere Capuchin chevaucher un Ministre.

For when I said, to see Popery return here;

would be a very sinister accident; I was just thinking upon that story; the Verses, to humour them in translation, being only this,

O what a trick unlucky, and how unlucky a trick,
To see friend Doctor Patrick, bestrid by Father Patrick!

Which seem'd to me, would be the most improbable and preposterous spectacle that ever was seen; and more ridiculous for a sight, than the *Friendly Debate* is for a Book. And yet if Popery come in, this must be, and worse.

But now I see there is some danger by the Nonconformists opposition to the Church of *England*. And now your business is all fixed. The Fanaticks are ready at hand to bear the blame of all things. Many a good job have I seen done in my time upon pretence of the Fanaticks. I do not think Mr. *Bayes* ever breaks his shins, but it is by stumbling upon a Fanatick. And how shall they bring in Popery? why thus, three wayes. *First*, *By creating disorders and disturbances in the State*, *Secondly*, *By the assistance of Atheism and Irreligion*. *Thirdly*, *By joyning with crafty and sacrilegious Statesmen in confederacy*. Now here I remark two things. One, that however you do not find that the Fanaticks are inclinable to Popery, only they may accommodate it by creating disturbances in the State; another is, that I see these Gentlemen, the Fanaticks, the Atheists, and the Sacrilegious Statesmen are not yet acquainted; but you have appointed them a meeting (I believe it must be at your Lodgings or no where;) and I hope you will treat them handsomly. But I think it was not so wisely done, nor very honestly, Mr. *Bayes*, to lay

so dangerous a Plot as this; and instruct men that are strangers yet to one another, how to contrive together such a Conspiracy. But first to your first.

The *Fanaticks* you say *may probably raise disturbance in the State*. For they *are so little friends to the present Government, that their enmity to that is one of the main Grounds of their quarrel to the Church.* But now, though I must confess it is very much to your purpose, if you could perswade men so, I think you are clear out, and misrepresent here the whole matter. For I know of no enmity they have to the Church it self, but what it was in her power always to have remedied, and so it is still. But such as you it is that have always strove by your leasings to keep up a strangeness and misunderstanding betwixt the King and his people; and all the mischief that hath come on't does lye much at your door.

Whereas they, as all the rest of mankind, are men for their own ends too: And no sooner hath the King shown them this late favour, but you Mr. *Bayes*, and your partners reproach them for being too much friends to the Prerogative. And no less would they be to the Church, had they ever at any age in any time found her in a treatable temper. I know nothing they demand, but what is so far from doing you any harm, that it would only make you better. But that indeed is the harm, that is the thing you are afraid of. Here our Author divides the discourse into a great Elogy of the Church of *England*; that if he were making her Funeral Sermon, he could not say more in her commendation; and a contrary invective against the Nonconformists, upon whom (as if all he had said before had been nothing) he unloads his whole Leystal, and dresseth them up all in *Sambenitos*, painted with all the flames and Devils

vils in Hell, to be led to the place of Execution, and there burnt to ashes. Nevertheless, I find on either side only the natural effect of such Hyperboles and Oratory, that is, not to be beleived. The Church of *England* (I mean as it is by Law Established, lest you should think I equivocate) hath such a stock of solid and deserved Reputation that it is more than you (Mr. *Bayes*) can spoyl or deface by all the Pedantry of your commendation. Only there is that party of the Clergy, that I not long ago described, and who will alwaies presume to be the only Church of *England*, who have been a perpetual Eye-sore, that I may not say a Canker and Gangreen in so perfect a beauty. And, as it joyes my heart to hear any thing well said of her; so I must confess, it stirs my choler, when I hear those men pride and boast themselves under the Mask of her Authority. Neither did I therefore approve of an expression you here use: *The Power of Princes would be a very precarious thing without the assistance of Ecclesiasticks, and all Government do's & must owe its quiet and continuance to the Churches Patronage.* That is as much as to say, That but for the assistance of your *Ecclesiastical Policy*, Princes might go a begging: and that the Church, that is you, have the *Jus patronatus* of the Kingdome, and may present whom you think fitting to the Crown of *England*. This is indeed something like the return of Popery; and right

Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rudolpho.

The Crown were surely well help'd up, if it were to be held at your convenience, and the Emperour must lead the Patriarchs Ass all his life-time. And little better do I like your *we may rest satisfied in the present security of the Church of* England, *under the*

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Protection of a wise and gracious Prince: especially when besides the impregnable confidence that we have from his own Inclination, it is so manifest, that he never can forsake it either in Honour or Interest. This is a pretty way of cokesing indeed, while you are all this while cutting the grass under his feet, and animating the people against the exercise of his Ecclesiastical Supremacy. Men are not so plain-hearted, but they can see through this oblique Rhetorication and Sophistry. If there be no danger in his time of taking a *Pin out of the Church* (for that it is you intended) why do you then speak of it in his time, but that you mean mischief? but here you do not only mow the grass under his feet, but you take the pillow from under his head. *But should it ever happen that any King of* England *should be prevail'd with to deliver up the Church, he had as good at the same time resign up his Crown.* This is pretty plain dealing, and you have doubtless secur'd hereby that Princes favour: I should have thought it better Courtship in a Divine, to have said, O King, Live for ever. But I see Mr. *Bayes*, that you and your Partners are very necessary men, and it were dangerous disobliging you. But in this imprudent and nauseous discourse, you have all along appropriated or impropriated all the Loyalty from the Nobility, the Gentry, and the Commonalty, and dedicated it to the Church; So, I doubt you are a little too immoderate against the body, of the Nonconformists. You represent them, to a man, to be all of them of Republican Principles, most pestilent and, *eo nomine*, enemies to Monarchy; Traytors and Rebells; such miscreants as never was in the world before, and fit to be pack'd out of it with the first convenience. And, I observe, that all the Argument of your Books is but very frivolous and trivial: only the memory of

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the late War serves for demonstration, and the detestable sentence and execution, of his late Majesty, is represented again upon the Scaffold; and you having been, I suspect, better acquainted with Parliament Declarations formerly upon another account, do now apply and turn them all over to prove that the late War was wholly upon a Fanatical Cause, and the dissenting party do still go big with the same Monster. I grew hereupon much displeased with my own ignorance of the occasion of those Troubles so near our own times, and betook my self to get the best Information concerning them, to the end that I might, If it appear'd so, decline the dangerous acquaintance of the Nonconformists, some of whom I had taken for honest men, nor therefore avoided their Company. But I took care nevertheless, not to receive Impressions from any of their party; but to gather my lights from the most impartial Authorities that I could meet with. And I think I am now partly prepared to give you, Mr. *Bayes*, some better satisfaction in this matter. And because you are a dangerous person, I shall as little as possible, say any thing of my own, but speak too before good Witnesses. First of all therefore, I will without farther Ceremony, fall upon you with the but-end of another Arch-bishop. 'Tis the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, *Abbot*, in the Narrative under his own hand concerning his disgrace at Court in the time of his late Majesty. I shall only in the way demand excuse, if, contrary to my fashion, the names of some eminent persons in our Church long since dead, be reviv'd here under no very good character; and most particularly that of Archbishop *Laud*, who, if for nothing else, yet for his learned Book against *Fisher*, deserved far another Fate than he met with, and ought not

now

now to be mentioned without due honour. But those names having so many years since escaped the Press, it is not in my power to conceal them; and I believe Archbishop *Abbot* did not write but upon good Consideration.

This I have premised for my own Satisfaction, and I will add one thing more, Mr. *Bayes*, for yours. That whereas the things now to be alledged relate much to some Impositions of Money in the late King's time, that were carryed on by the Clergy; I know you will be ready to carp at that, as if the Nonconformists had, and would be alwayes enemies to the Kings supply. Whereas, Mr. *Bayes*, if I can do the Nonconformists no good, I am resolv'd I will do them no harm; nor desire that they should lye under any imputation on my account. For I write by my own advice, and what I shall alledge concerning the Clergies intermedling with supplies, is upon a particular aversion, that I have upon good Reason, against their disposing of our Money. And Mr. *Bayes* I will acquaint you with the Reason, which is this. 'Tis not very many years ago that I used to play at *Picket*; and there was a Gentleman of your Robe, a *Dignitary of Lincoln*, very well known and remembred in the Ordinaries, but being not long since dead, I will save his name. Now I used to play *Pieces*, and this Gentleman would alwayes go half a Crown with me, and so all the while he sate on my hand he very honestly *gave the Sign*, so that I was alwaies sure to lose. I afterwards discovered it, but of all the money that ever I was cheated of in my life, none ever vexed me so, as what I lost by his occasion. And ever since, I have born a great grudge against their fingring of any thing that belongs to me. And I have been told, and shown the place where the man dwelt in the late

late King's time near *Hampton Court*, that there was one that used to rob on the high-way, in the habit of a Bishop, and all his fellows rid too in Canonical Coats. And I can but fancy how it madded those, that would have perhaps been content to releive an honest Gentleman in distress, or however would have been less griev'd to be robb'd by such an one, to see themselves so *Episcopally* pillaged. Neither must it be less displeasing alwaies to the Gentry and Commonalty of *England*, that the Clergy (as you do Mr. *Bayes*) should tell them that they are never *sui Juris*, not only as to their Consciences, but even as to their Purses; and you should pretend to have this *Power of the Keys* too, where they lock their Money. Nay, I dare almost aver upon my best observation, that there never was, nor ever will be a Parliament in *England*, that could or can refuse the King supplies proportionable to his occasions, without any need of recourse to extraordinary wayes; but for the pickthankness of the Clergy, who will alwaies presume to have the thanks and honour of it, nay, and are ready alwayes to obstruct the Parliamentary Aids, unless they may have their own little project pass too into the bargain, and they may be gratified with some new *Ecclesiastical Power*, or some new Law against the *Fanaticks*. This is the naked truth of the matter. Whereas *English* men alwayes love to see how their money goes, and if there be any interest or profit to be got by it, to receive it themselves. Therefore Mr. *Bayes* I will go on with my business not fearing all the mischief that you can make of it.

'There was, *saith he*, one Sibthorp, who not be-'ing so much as Batchelor of Arts, by the means of 'Doctor *Pierce* Vice-Chancelor of *Oxford*, got to 'be consecr'd upon him the title of Doctor. This

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'Man was Vicar of *Brackley* in *Northamptonshire*, 'and hath another Benefice. This Man preach-'ing at *Northampton*, had taught, that Princes had 'power to put Poll-money upon their Subjects 'heads. He being a man of a low fortune, con-'ceiv'd the putting his Sermon in Print might 'gain favour at Court, and raise his fortune high-'er. It was at the same time that the business of 'the Loan was on foot. In the same Sermon 'he 'called that Loan a Tribute, Taught that the 'Kings duty is first to direct and make Laws. That 'nothing may excuse the subject from active obedi-'ence, but what is against the Law of God or Na-'ture, or impossible; that all Antiquity was abso-'lutely for absolute obedience in all civil and 'temporal things. And the imposing of Poll-'monie by Princes, he justifi'd *out of* St. *Matthew*: And in the matter of the *Loan*, *What a Speech is this*, saith the Bishop, *he observes the forwardness of the Papists to offer double*. For this Sermon was sent to the Bishop from Court, and he required to Li-cence it, not under his Chaplin, but his own hand. But he, not being satisfi'd of the Doctrine deliver-ed, sent back his reasons why he thought not fit to give his approbation, and unto these Bishop *Laud*, who was in this whole business, and a rising Man at Court, *undertook an answer*. 'His life in *Ox-'ford*, saith Archbishop *Abbot*, was to pick quar-'rels, in the Lectures of publick Readers, and to 'advertise them to the Bishop of *Durham* that he 'might fill the Ears of King *James*, with discontent 'against the honest men that took pains in their 'places, and setled the Truth (which he call'd 'Puritanism) in their Auditors. He made it his 'work to see what Books were in the Press, and 'and to look over Epistles Dedicatory, and Pre-'faces to the Reader, to see what faults might be

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'found. 'Twas an observation what a sweet man 'this was like to be, that the first observable act 'he did, was the marrying of the Earl of D. to the 'Lady R. when she had another Husband a Noble-'man, and divers Children by him. Here he 'tells how, for this very cause, King *James* would 'not a great while endure him, 'till he yeilded at 'last to Bishop *Williams* his importunity, whom not-withstanding he straight strove to undermine, and did it at last to purpose: for saith the Archbishop, 'Verily, such is his undermining nature, that he 'will under-work any man in the World, so he 'may gain by it. *He call'd in the Bishop of* Durham, 'Rochester, *and* Oxford, tryed men for such a pur-'pose, to the answering of my Reasons, and the 'whole stile of the Speech, runs We, We. In my 'memory, Doctor *Harsnet* then Bishop of *Chichester*, 'and now of *Norwich* (*as he came afterward to be* 'Arch-bishop *of* York) preached at White-Hall up-'on, *Give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsars*; a 'Sermon that was afterwards burned, teaching 'that Goods and Money were Cæsars, and so the 'Kings: Whereupon King *James* told the Lords and 'Commons that he had failed in not adding accor-'ding to the Laws and Customs of the Countrey 'wherein they did live. But *Sibthorp* was for absolute-'ly absolute. So that if the King had sent to me for 'all my Money & Goods, & so to the Clergy I must 'by *Sibthorps* proportion send him all. If the King 'should send to the City of *London* to command all 'their wealth, they were bound to do it. I know the 'King is so gracious he will attempt no such mat-'ter; but if he do it not, the defect is not in these 'flattering Divines. Then he saith, reflecting again upon the Loan which *Sibthorp* called a Tri-bute. 'I am sorry at heart, the King's Gracious 'Majesty should rest so great a Building on so weak

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'a Foundation, the Treatise being so slender, and 'without substance, but that proceeded from an 'hungry Man. Then he speaks of his own ease as to the Licensing this Book, in parallel to the Earl of *Essex* his divorce; which to give it more authority, *was to be ratified judicially by the Arch-bishop.* He concludes how finally he refused his approbation to this Sermon, and saith, 'it was thereupon carried to the Bishop of *London*, 'who gave a great and stately allowance of it, 'the good man not being willing that any thing 'should stick with him that came from Court, as 'appears by a Book commonly called the seven 'Sacraments, which was allowed by his Lordship 'with all the errours, which have been since ex-'punged. And he adds a pretty story of one Doctor *Woral*, the *Bishop of London's Chaplain*, *Scholar good enough, but a free fellow-like man, and of no very tender Conscience*, who before it was Licensed by the Bishop, *Sibthorps* Sermon being brought to him, *hand over head approved it, and subscribed his name.* But afterwards hearing more of it, went to a Counsel at the *Temple*, who told him, that by that Book *there was no Meum nor Tuum left in* England, *And if ever the Tide turn'd, he might come to be hang'd for it*, and thereupon *Woral scraped out his name again*, and left it to his Lord to License. Then the Arch-bishop takes notice of the *instructions for that Loan*. 'Those that 'refused, to be sent for Souldiers to the King of 'Denmark. Oaths to be administred with whom 'they had conference; and who dissuaded them, 'such persons to be sent to prison, *&c.* He saith 'that he had complain'd thrice of *Mountagues* 'Arminian Book, to no purpose: *Cosins* put out 'his Book of seven Sacraments (strange things) 'but I knew nothing of it, but as it pleased my Ld 'of *Durham* and the Bp of *Bath*, *so it went.* In con-

conclusion, the good Arch-bishop for refusing the Licence of *Sibthorps* Sermons, was, by the underworking of his adversaries, first commanded from *Lambeth*, and confined to his house in *Kent*, and afterwards sequestred, and a Commission passed to exercise the Archiepiscopall Jurisdiction to the Bishops of *London*, *Durham*, *Rochester*, *Oxford*, and Bishop *Laud* (who from thence arose in time to be the Arch-bishop.) If I had leisure how easy a thing it were for to extract out of the Narrative a just parallel of our Author, even almost upon all points? but I am now upon a more serious subject, and therefore shall leave the Application to his own ingenuity, and the good intelligence of the Reader.

About the same time (for I am speaking within the circle of 20 30, and 40 *Caroli*) that this Book of *Sibthorps*, called *Apostolical Obedience*, was Printed, there came out another of the same stamp, Intitled *Religion and Allegiance*, by one Doctor *Manwaring*. It was the substance of two Sermons preached by him at *Whitehall*, beside what of the same nature at his own parish of Saint *Giles*. Therein he delivered for truth, *That the King is not bound to observe the Laws of the Realm concerning the Subjects Rights and Liberties, but that his Royal word and command in imposing Loans and Taxes without common consent in Parliament, does oblige the Subjects Conscience upon pain of eternal Damnation, That those who refused to pay this Loan, offended against the Law of God, and the Kings supream Authority, and became guilty of Impiety, Disloyalty and Rebellion. That the Authority of Parliament was not necessary for raising of Aids and Subsidies, and the slow proceedings of such great Assemblies were not fitted for the supply of the States urgent necessities, but would rather produce sundry impediments to the just designs of Princes.*

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And after he had been queſtioned for this doctrine, nevertheleſs he preached again, *That the King had right to order all as to him ſhould ſeem good, without any mans conſent. That the King might, in time of neceſſity demand Aid, and if the Subject did not ſupply him, the King might juſtly avenge it. That the Propriety of Eſtate and Goods was ordinarily in the ſubject, but extraordinarily in the King: that in caſe of the King's need, he hath right to diſpoſe them.* He had beſides, entring into compariſon, called the refuſers of the Loan, *temporal Recuſants, and ſaid, the ſame diſobedience that they, (the Papiſts as they then called them) practiſe in ſpirituals, that or worſe, ſome of our ſide, if ours they be, dare to practiſe in temporals.* And he aggravated further upon them under the reſemblance of *Turks, Jews, Corah, Dathan* and *Abiram. which laſt*, ſaid he, *might as well liken themſelves to the three Children*; or Theudas *and* Judas, *the two Incendiaries in the daies of* Cæſar's *tribute, might as well pretend their Cauſe to be like that of the* Maccabees, *as what the Refuſers alledged in their own defence.*

I ſhould not have been ſo large in theſe particulars, had they been only ſingle and volatile Sermons, but becauſe this was then the Doctrine of thoſe perſons that pretended to be the Church of *England*. The whole Quire ſung that Tune, and inſtead of the Common Law of *England*, and the Statutes of Parliament, that part of the Clergy had invented theſe *Eccleſiaſtical Lawes*, which according to their predominancy, were ſure to be put in Execution. So that between their own Revenue, which muſt be held *Jure Divino*, as every thing elſe that belong'd to them, and the Prince's that was *Jure Regio*, they had not left an inch of propriety for the Subject, It ſeem'd that they had granted themſelves *Letters of Repriſal* againſt the

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Laity, for the losses of the Church under *Henry the Eight*, and that they would make a greater havock upon their Temporalities in retaliation. And indeed, having many times since ponder'd with my greatest and earnest impartiality, what could be the true reason of the spleen that they manifested in those daies, on the one hand against the *Puritans*, and on the other against the *Gentry*, (for it was come, they tell me, to *Jack Gentleman*.) I could not devise any cause, but that the Puritans had ever since the Reformation, obstructed that lazines and splendor which they enjoyed under the Popes Supremacy, and the gentry had (sacrilegiously) divided the *Abby-Lands*, and other fat morsels of the Church at the Dissolution, and now was the time to be revenged on them.

While therefore the Kingdome was turned into a Prison, upon occasion of this *Ecclesiastical Law* and many of the eminentest of the Gentry of *England* were under restraint, they thought it seasonable to recover once again their antient Glory, and to *Magnificate* the Church with triumphant Pomp and Ceremony. The three Ceremonies that have the Countenance of Law, would not suffice, but they were all upon new Inventions, and happy was he that was endued with that capacity, for he was sure before all others to be preferr'd. There was a *second* Service, the *Table* set *Altar wise*, and to be called the *Altar*, *Candles*, *Crucifixes*, *Paintings*, *Imagery*, *Copes*, *bowing to the East*, *bowing to the Altar*, and so many several Cringes and Genuflexions, that a man unpractised stood in need to entertain both a Dancing Master and a Remembrancer. And though these things were very uncouth to *English* Protestants who naturally affect a plainnes of fashion, especially in sacred things, yet, if these Gentlemen could have contented themselves

themselves with their own Formalitie, the Innovation had been more excusable. But many of these Additions, and to be sure, all that had any colour of Law, were so imposed and prest upon others, that a great part of the Nation was'n put as it were to Fine and Ransom upon this account. What Censures, what Excommunications, what Deprivations, what Imprisonments? I cannot represent the misery and desolation, as it hath been represented to me. But wearied out at home, many thousands of his Majesties Subjects, to his and the Nations great loss, thought themselves constrained to seek another habitation, and every Country, even though it were among Savages and Caniballs, appear'd more hospitable to them than their own.

And, although I have been told by those that have seen both, that our Church did even *then* exceed the *Romish* in Ceremonies and Decorations; and indeed, several of our Church did therby frequently mistake their way, and from a *Popish* kind of Worship, fell into the *Roman Religion*; yet I cannot upon my best judgement believe, that that party had generally a design to alter the Religion so far, but rather to set up a new kind of *Papacy* of their own, here in *England*. And it seemed they had, to that purpose, provided themselves of a new Religion in *Holland*. It was *Arminianism*, which though it were the *Republican* Opinion there, and so odious to King *James*, that it helped on the death of *Barnevelt*, yet now they undertook to accomodate it to Monarchy and Episcopacy. And the choice seemed not imprudent. For on the one hand, it was removed at so moderate a distance from *Popery*, that they should not disoblige the *Papists* more than formerly, neither yet could the *Puritans*, with justice reproach these men,

men, as *Romish Catholicks*; and yet, on the other hand, they knew it was so contrary to the antient reformed Doctrine of the Church of *England* that the *Puritans* would never imbrace it, and so they should gain this pretence further to keep up that convenient and necessary Quarrel against Non-conformity. And accordingly it happened, so that here again was a new *Shiboleth*. And the *Calvinists* were all studiously discountenanced, and none but an *Arminian* was judg'd capable and qualified for imployment in the Church. And though the King did declare, as I have before mentioned, that *Mountague's* (*Arminian*) Book had been the occasion of the Schisms in the Church, yet care was immediately taken, by those of the same Robe and Party, that he should be the more rewarded and advanced. As also it was in *Manwarings* Case: who though by Censure in Parliament made incapable of any Ecclesiastical Preferment, was straight made Rector of *Stamford-Rivers* in *Essex*, with a Dispensation to hold too his Living in St. *Giles's*. And all dexterity was practised to propagate the same Opinions, and to suppress all Writings or Discourses to the contrary.

So that those who were of understanding in these dayes tell me, that a man would wonder to have heard their kind of preachings. How instead of the practical Doctrine which tends to the reforming of mens Lives and Manners, all their Sermons were a very Mash of *Arminian* Subtilties, of Ceremonies and Decency, and of *Manwaring*, and *Sibthorpianism* brew'd together, besides that in their conversation they thought fit to take some more license the better to *dis-Christen* themselves from the *Puritans*. And though there needed nothing more to make them unacceptable to the

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ſober part of the Nation, yet moreover they were ſo exceeding *pragmatical*, ſo intolerably ambitious, and ſo deſperately proud, that ſcarce any Gentleman might come near the Tayle of their Mules: And many things I perceive of that nature, do even yet ſtick upon the ſtomacks of the *Old Gentlemen* of thoſe times. For the *Engliſh* have been alwaies very tender of their Religion, their Liberty, their Propriety, and (I was going to ſay) no leſs of their Reputation. Neither yet do I ſpeak of theſe things with paſſion, conſidering at more diſtance how natural it is for men to deſire to be in Office; and no leſs natural to grow proud and inſractable in Office; and the leſs a Clergy man is ſo, the more he deſerves to be commended. But theſe things before mentioned, grew yet higher; after that Biſhop *Laud* was once not only exalted to the See of *Canterbury*, but to be chief Miniſter. Happy had it been for the King, happy for the Nation, and happy for himſelf, had he never climbed that Pinacle. For whether it be or no, that the Clergy are not ſo well fitted by Education, as others for Political affairs, I know not; though I ſhould rather think they have advantage above others, and even if they would but keep to their *Bibles*, might make the beſt Miniſters of State in the world; yet it is generally obſerved that things miſcarry under their Government. If their be any Counſel more precipitate, more violent, more rigorous, more extreme than other, that is theirs. Truly I think the reaſon that God does not bleſs them in Affairs of State, is, becauſe he never intended them for that imployment. Or if Government, and the preaching of the Goſpel, may well concur in the ſame perſon, God therefore fruſtrates him, becauſe though knowing better, he ſeeks and ma-

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nages his greatness by the lesser and meaner *Maxims*. I am confident the Bishop studied to do both God and his Majesty good service, but alas how utterly was he mistaken. Though so learned, so pious, so wise a Man, he seem'd to know nothing beyond *Ceremonies*, *Arminianism*, and *Manwaring*. With that he begun, and with that ended, and thereby deform'd the whole reign of the best Prince that ever weilded the *English* Scepter.

For his late Majesty being a Prince truly pious and Religious, was thereby the more inclined to esteem and favour the Clergy. And thence though himself of a most exquisite understanding, yet he could not trust it better than in their keeping. Whereas every man is best in his own Post, and so the Preacher in the Pulpit. But he that will do the Clergyes druggery, must look for his reward in another world. For they having gained this Ascendent upon him, resolv'd what ever became on't to make their best of him; and having made the whole business of State their *Arminian* Jargles, and the Persecution for Ceremonies, did for recompence assign him that imaginary absolute Government, upon which Rock we all ruined.

For now was come the last part of the *Archbishops* indiscretion; who having strained those strings so hig here, and all at the same time, which no wise man ever did; he moreover had a mind to try the same dangerous Experiment in *Scotland*, and sent thither the Book of the *English Liturgy*, to be imposed upon them. What followed thereupon, is yet within the compass of most Mens memories. And how the War broke out, and then to be sure Hell's brook loose. Whether it were a War of Religion, or of Liberty, is not worth the labour to enquire. Which soever was at the top, the other was at the bottome; but upon considering all, I think

think the Cauſe was too good to have been fought for. Men ought to have truſted God; they ought and might have truſted the King with that whole matter. The *Arms of the Church are Prayers and Tears*, the Arms of the Subjects are *Patience* and *Petitions*. The King himſelf being of ſo accurate and piercing a judgement, would ſoon have ſeen where it ſtuck. For men may ſpare their pains where Nature is at work, and the world will not go the faſter for our driving. Even as his preſent Majeſties happy Reſtauration did it ſelf, ſo all things elſe happen in their beſt and proper time, without any need of our officiouſneſs.

But after all the fatal conſequences of that Rebellion, which can only ſerve as Sea-marks unto wiſe Princes to avoid the Cauſes, ſhall this ſort of Men ſtill vindicate themſelves as the moſt zealous Aſſertors of the Rights of Princes? They are but at the beſt *well-meaning Zealots*. Shall, to decline ſo pernicious Counſels, and to provide better for the quiet of Government be traduced as th Author does here, under theſe odious terms of *forſaking the Church, and delivering up the Church*? Shall theſe Men alwayes preſume to uſurp to themſelves that venerable ſtile of the *Church of England*? God forbid. The *Independents* at that rate would have ſo many diſtinct Congregations as they. There would be *Sibthorps* Church, and *Manwarings* Church, and *Montagues* Church, and a whole bed-roll more, whom for decencies-ſake I abſtain from naming. And every man that could invent a new Opinion, or a new Ceremony, or a new Tax, ſhould be a new Church of *England*.

Neither, as far as I can diſcern, have this ſort of the Clergy ſince his Majeſties return, given him better incouragements to ſteer by their Compaſs. I am told, that preparatory to that, they

had frequent meetings in the City, I know not whether in *Grubstreet*, with the Divines of the other party, and that there in their Feasts of Love, they promised to forget all former Offences, to lay by all Animosities, that there should be a new Heaven, and a new Earth, all Meekness, Charity, and Condescention. His Majesty I am sure sent over his Gracious Declaration of *Liberty to tender Consciences* and upon his coming over, seconded it with his Commission under the broad Seal, for a Conference betwixt the two parties, to prepare things for an Accommodation, that he might confirm, it by his Royal Authority. Hereupon what do they? Notwithstanding this happy Conjucture of his Majesties Restauration, which had put all men into so good a humour, that upon a little moderation temper of things, the Nonconformists could not have stuck out; some of these men so contriv'd it, that there should not be the least abatement to bring them off with Conscience, and (which insinuates into all men) some little Reputation. But to the contrary; several unnecessary additions were made, only because they knew they would be more ingratefull and *Stigmatical* to the Nonconformists. I remember one in the *Letany*, where to *False Doctrine and Heresie*, they added *Schism*, though it were to spoil the *Musick* and cadence of the period; but these things were the best. To show that they were men like others, even cunning men, revengeful men, they drill'd things on, till they might procure a Law, wherein besides all the Conformity that had been of former times enacted, there might be some new Conditions imposed on those that should have or hold any Church Livings, such as they assur'd themselves, that rather than swallow, the Nonconformists would disgorge all their Benefices.

And

And accordingly it succeeded; several thousands of these Ministers being upon one memorable day ousted of their subsistence. His Majesty, in the meantime, although they had thus far prevailed to frustrate his Royal Intentions, had reinstated the Church in all its former Revenues, Dignities, Advantages, so far from the Authors mischievous aspersion of ever thinking of converting them to his own use, that he restored them free from what was due to him by Law upon their first admission. So careful was he, *because all Government must owe its quiet and continuance to the Churches Patronage*, to pay them, even what they ought. But I have observed, that if a man be in the Churches debt once, 'tis very hard to get an acquaintance: And these men never think they have their full Rights, unless they Reign. What would they have had more? They roul'd on a flood of Wealth, and yet in matter of a Lease, would make no difference betwixt a Nonconformist, and one of their own fellow sufferers, who had ventur'd his life, and spent his Estate for the King's service. They were restor'd to Parliament, and to take their places with the King and the Nobility. They had a new *Liturgy* to their own hearts desire; And to cumulate all this happiness, they had this new Law against the *Fanaticks*. All they had that could be devised in the World to make a Clergy-man good natur'd.

Nevertheless after all their former sufferings, and after all these new enjoyments and acquisitions, they have proceeded still in the same tracks. The matter of Ceremonies, to be sure, hath not only exercised their antient rigor and severity, but hath been a main ingredient of their publick Discourses, of their Sermons, of their Writings. I could not (though I do not make it my work after

a great example, to look over *Epistles Dedicatory*) but observe by chance the Title page of a Book t'other day, as an *Emblem* how much some of them do neglect the Scripture in respect to their darling Ceremonies. *A Rationale upon the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England, by* A. Sparrow *D. D. Bishop of* Exon. *with the Form of Consecration of a Church or Chappel, and of the place of Christian Burial. By* Lancelot Andrews *late Lord Bishop of Winchester. Sold by Robert Pawlet at the Sign of the Bible in Chancery Lane.* These surely are worthy cares for the Fathers of the Church.

But to let these things alone; How have they of late years demean'd themselves to his Majesty, although our Author urges their immediate dependance on the King to be a great obligation he hath upon their Loyalty and Fidelity? I have heard that some of them, when a great Minister of State grew burdensome to his Majesty and the Nation, stood almost in defiance of his Majesties good pleasure, and fought it out to the uttermost in his defence. I have been told that some of them in a matter of *Divorce*, wherein his Majesty desired that justice might be done to the party a-griev'd opposed him vigorously, though they made bold too with a point of Conscience in the Case, and went against the judgement of the best Divines of all parties. It hath been observed, that whensoever his Majesty hath had the most urgent occasions for supply, others of them have made it their business to trinkle with the *Members of Parliament*, for obstructing it, unless the King would buy it with a new Law against the Fanaticks. And hence it is that the wisdome of his Majesty and the Parliament must be exposed to after Ages for such a *Superfetation of Acts* in his Reign about the same business. And no sooner can his Majesty up-

on

on his own best Reasons try to obviate this inconvenience, but our Author, who had before outshot *Sibthorp* and *Manwaring* in their own Bows, is now for retrenching his Authority, and moreover calumniates the State with a likelihood, and the Reasons thereof of *the return of Popery* into this Nation. And this hath been his first Method by the *Fanaticks raising disturbance*: whereupon if I have raked farther into things than I would have done, the Author's Indiscretion will, I hope, excuse me, and gather all the blame for reviving those things which were to be buried in Oblivion. But, by what appears, I cannot see that there is any probability of disturbance in the State, but by men of his spirit and principles.

The second way whereby the Fanatick party, he saith, may at last work the ruine of the Church, is *by combining with the Atheists, for their union is like the mixture of Nitre and Charcoal, it carries all before it without mercy or resistance.* So it seems, when you have made Gun-power of the Atheists and Fanaticks, we are like to be blown up with Popery. And so will the Larks too. But his zeal spends it self most against the *Atheists*, because they use to *fear the Parsons.* That they may do, and no Atheists neither. For really, while Clergy men will, having so serious an office, play the *Drols* and the Boon-companions, and make merry with the Scriptures, not only among themselves, but in Gentlemen's company, 'tis impossible but that they should meet with, at least, an unlucky Reparte sometimes, and grow by degrees to be a cayle, and contempt to the people. Nay, even that which our Athour alwayes magnifies, the Reputation, the Interest, the seculiar grandure of the Church, is indeed the very thing which renders them ridiculous to many, and looks as improper and buf-

fponish, as to have seen the Porter lately in the good *Doctors Cassock* and Girdle. For, so they tell me, that there are no where more Atheists than at *Rome*, because men seeing that Princely garb and pomp of the Clergy, and observing the life and manners, think therefore the meaner of Religion. For certainly, the Reputation and Interest of the Clergy, was first gained by abstracting themselves from the world, attending their Callings, Humility, strictness of Doctrine, and the same strictness in Conversation; and things are best preserved by the same means they were at first attained. But if our Author had been as concern'd against Atheisme, as he is against their disrespect of his function, he should have been content that the Fanatick Preachers might have spent some of their *Pulpit sweat* upon the Atheists, and made a noise in their ears, about *Faith*, *Communion with God*, *attendance upon Ordinances*, which he himself jeasts at so pleasantly. Neither do I like upon the same reasons his manner of Discourse with the Atheists, where he complains that ours are not like those good Atheists of formertimes, who never did thrust themselves into publick cares and concerns, 'minding nothing but *Love*, *Wine*, *and Poetry*. Nor is 'another place,' Put the case the Clergy were Cheats & Jugglers, yet it must be allowed they are necessary Instruments of State to aw the common People into fear and 'obedience, because nothing else can so effectually 'inslave them ('tis this it seems our Author would be at) 'as the fear of invisible powers, and the dismal 'apprehensions of the world to come: and for this very 'reason, though there were no other, it is fit they should 'be allowed the same honour and respect, as would be 'acknowledged their due, if they were sincere and honest 'men. No Atheist could have said better. How mendicant a cause has he here made of it; they will

will say, they see where the shoo wrings him, and that though this be some ingenuity in him, yet it is but little Policy. Nay, perhaps they will say, that they are no Atheists neither, but only, I know not by what Fate, every day, one or other of the Clergy does, or saith some so ridiculous and foolish thing, or some so pretty accident befals them, that in our Authors words, *a man must be very Splenetick that can refrain from laughter.* I would have quoted the page here, but that the Author has, I think for evasion sake, omitted to number them in this whole Preface. But whether there be any Atheists or no, which I question more than Witches, I do not for all this, take our Author to be one, though some would conclude it out of his Principles, others out of his Expressions. Yet really, I think he hath done that sort of men so much service in his Books, by his ill handling, and while he personates one party, making all Religion ridiculous, that they will never be able to require him, but in the same manner. He hath opened them a whole Treasure of words and sentences, universally applicable; where they may rifle or chuse things, which their pitiful wit, as he calls it, would never have been able to invent and flourish. But truly, as the simple *Parliament* go *Elie*, never imagined what consequence that clause in the *Wednesday Fast* would have to *Puritanism*, neither did he what his *Periods* would have to *Atheism*; and yet though he is so more excusable, I hope, I may have the same leave on him, as he on that *Parliament*, to censure his Impertinence. To close this; I know a Lady that chid her Master of the Horse for correcting the Page that had sworn a great Oath for, saith she, *The Boy did therein shew only the Generosity of his Courage, and his acknowledgment of a Duty.* And indeed, he hath approv'd his Religion, and

justified

justified himself from Atheism much after the same manner.

The third way and last (which I being tired, am very glad of) by which the Fanaticks may raise Disturbances, and so *introduce Popery*, is by joyning crafty and sacrilegious States-men into the Confederacy. But really here he doth speak concerning King, and Counsellors, at such a rate, and describe and characterize some men so, whomsoever he intends, that though I know there are no such, I dare not touch, it is too hazardous. 'Tis true he passes his Complement ill-favouredly enough. *'The Church has at present an impregnable 'assiance in the wisdom, &c. of so gracious a Prince, 'that is not capable of such Counsels, should they be sug-'gested to him: though certainly no man that is worthy 'to be admitted to his Majesties Favour or Privacy; can 'be supposed so foot-hardy or presumptuous as to offer 'such weak and dishonourable Advice to so wise and 'able a Prince; Yet Princes are mortal, and if ever 'hereafter, (and some time or other it must happen) the 'Crown should chance to settle upon a young and un-'experienced head, this is usually the first thing in 'which such Princes are abused by their Keepers and 'Guardians, &c.* But this Complement is no better at best, than if discoursing with a man of another, I should take him by the Beard. Upon such occasions in company, we use to ask, Sir, *whom do you mean?* I am sure our Author takes it always for granted, that his Answerer intends him upon more indefinite and less direct provocations. But our Author does even personate some men as speaking at present against the Church, *'They 'will intagle your affairs, indanger your safety, hazard 'your Crown. All the reward you shall have to com-'pensate your misfortunes, by following Church Coun-'sels, shall be that a few Church men, or such like people,*

people, shall cry you up for a Saint or a Martyr. Still *your, your,* as if it were a close discourse unto his Majesty himself. Though if these were the worst that they said, or that the Author fathers upon them, I wish the King might never have better Councellors about him. But if the Author be secure, for the present, in his Majesties Reign, fears not Popery, not forsaking the Church nor assuming the Church Revenues, why is he so provident? why put things in men's heads they never thought of? why stirr such an odious, seditious, impertinent, unseasonable discourse? why take this very minute of time, but that he hath mischief, to say no worse, in his heart? He had no such remote conceit (for all his talk) of an *Infant* coming to the Crown. He is not so weak but knows too much, and is too well instructed, to speak to so little purpose. That would have been like a set of *Elsbeth Players*, that in the Country having worn out and over acted all the Playes they brought with them from *London*, laid their wits together to make a new one of their own. No less man than *Julius Cæsar* was the Argument; and one of the chief parts was *Moses*, perswading *Julius Cæsar* not to make War against his own Countrey, nor pass *Rubicon*. If our Author did not speak of our present times (to do which nevertheless had been sufficiently false and absurd) but writ all this meerly out of his Providence for after ages, I shall no more call him *Bayes*, for he is just such a *second Moses*. I ask pardon, if I have said too much, but I shall deserve none, if I meddle any further with so improbable and dangerous a business,

To conclude, the Author gives us one ground more, and perhaps more *Seditiously* insinuated than any of the former; that is, if *it should so prove*, that is, if the *Fanaticks by their wanton and unreaso-*

noble opposition to the ingenious and moderate Discipline of the Church of England, shall give their Governours too much reason to suspect that they are never to be kept in order by a milder, and more gentle Government than that of the Church of Rome, and force them at last to scourge them into better manners, with the Briars and Thorns of their Discipline. It seems then that the Discipline contended about, is worth such an alteration. It seems that he knowes something more than I did beleive of the Design in the late times before the War. Whom doth he mean by *our Governours*? the King; No, for he is a single person, The Parliament, or the Bishops.

I have now done, after I have (which is I think due) given the Reader, and the Author a short account how I came to write this Book, and in this manner. First of all, I was offended at the presumption and arrogance of his stile; whereas there is nothing either of Wit, or Eloquence in all his Books, worthy of a Readers, and more unfit for his own, taking notice of. Then his infinite *Tautology* was burthensome; which seem'd like marching a Company round a Hill upon a pay-day so often, till if the Muster master were not attentive, they might receive the pay of a Regiment. All the variety of his Treat is *Pork* (he knows the story) but so little disguised by good Cookery, that it discovers the miserableness; or rather the penury of the Host. When I observed how he inveighs against the *Trading part* of the Nation, I thought he deserved to be within the *five mile Act*, and not to come within that distance of any Corporation. I could not patiently see how irreverently he treated Kings and Princes, as if they had been no better then *King Phys* and *King Usb* of *Bransford*. I thought his profanation of the Scripture intolerable; For though he alledges that 'tis only in order to shew how

how it was misapplyed by the Fanatick, he might have done that too, and yet preserved the Dignity and Reverence of those Sacred Writings, which he hath not done, but on the contrary, he hath in what is properly his own, taken the most of all his Ornaments, and Imbellishments thence in a scurrilous and sacrilegious stile, insomuch that were it honest, I will undertake out of him to make a better, that is a more ridiculous and prophaner book, than *all the Friendly Debates* bound up together. Methought I never saw a more bold and wicked attempt, than that of reducing *Grace*, and making it a meer *Fable*, of which he gives us the *Moral*. I was sorry to see that even Prayer could not be admitted to be a Virtue, having though hitherto it had been a *Grace*, and a peculiar gift of the Spirit. But I considered, that that Prayer ought to be discouraged, in order to prefer the *Liturgy*. He seem'd to speak so little like a Divine in all those matters, that the Poet might as well have pretended to be the *Bishop Elect*, and that description of the Poets of *Prayer* and *Praise* was better than our Author's on the same Subject. *Canto* the 6th, where he likens Prayer to the Ocean;

For Prayer the Ocean is where diverse Men steer
their course each to a several coast,
Where all our interests so discordant lye,
That half beg winds, by which the rest are lost.

And Praise he compares to the Union of Fanaticks and Atheists, &c. that is *Gunpowder*; *Praise is Devotion fit for mighty minds*, &c.

Its utmost force, like Powder, is unknown.
Though weak Kings excess of praise may fear,
'Tis when 'tis hurl'd, like Powder, dangerous
grown,

Heavens vault receives, what would the Palcae tear,

Indeed all *Astragen* appear'd to me the better *Scheme of Religion.* But it is unnecessary here to recapitulate all, one by one, what *I* have in the former Discourse taken notice cf. I shall only add, what gave, if not the greattest, yea the *last* impulse to my writing. *I* had observed in his first Book, P- 57- that he had said 'Some pert and 'pragmatical Divines, had filled the world with 'a Buzze and Noise of the Divine Spirit; which 'seemed to me so horribly irreverent, as if he had taken similitude from the *Hum and Buz* of the *Humble Bee* in the *Rehearsal.*

In the same Book, I have before mentioned, that most unsafe passage of our *Saviour, being not only in an hot fit of zeal, but in a seeming fury and transport af Passion.* And striving to unhook himself hence. P.152. of his Second Book, Swallows it deeper, saying, *Our blessed Saviour did in that action take upon him the Person and Priviledge of a Jewish Zealot.* Take upon him the Person, that is *Personam induere.* And what part did he play? Of a *Jewish Zealot.*

The Second Person of the Trinity (may I repeat these things without offence) to take upon him the Person of a Jewish Zealot, that is, of a notorious Rogue and Cut Throat.

This seemed to proceed from too slight an Apprehension and Knowledge of the Duty we owe to our Saviour. And last of all, in this Preface, as before quoted, he saith, the *Nonconformist Preachers do spend most of their Pulpit-sweat in making a noise about Communion with God.* So that there is not one Person of the Trinity that he hath not done

De-

deſpight to: and leſt he ſhould have diſtinct Communion with the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghoſt, for which he mocks his Anſwerer; he hath ſpoken evil diſtinctly of the Father, diſtinctly of the Son, and diſtinctly of the Holy Ghoſt. That only remain'd behind, wherein our Author might ſurpaſs the Character given to *Aretine*, a famous man of his Faculty.

Qui giace ill Aretino
Chi de tutti mal diſſe ſuor d' Adido
Ma di queſto ſi ſenſa perche no'l conobbe.

Here lies Aretine,
who ſpoke evil of all, except God only,
But of this he begs excuſe, becauſe he did not know him.

And now I have done. And I ſhall think my ſelf largely recompenſed for this trouble, if any one that hath been formerly of another mind, ſhall learn by this Example, that it is not impoſſible to be merry and angry as long time as I have been Writing, without profaning and violating thoſe things which are and ought to be moſt ſacred.

FINIS.

600. MASSINGER (PHILIP). The Unnaturall Combat. A Tragedie. The Scoene Marsellis. Small 4to, full sprinkled calf, gilt edges, by Worsfold.

London: Printed by E. G., for Iohn Waterson, 1639

FIRST EDITION. A portion is reprinted in Capell's "School of Shakespeare." Consult "Fresh Allusions to Shakspere," page 89.

Shakespeare allusions.

"And then as for extortion;
Hebrew Jew as you would, after a
made so full and voluntary resti
have been satisfied without so m
his flesh over into the bargain?
be in a desperate condition, yet
not 'being past grace, 'should n
been past mercy.'

x x x x

"I cannot but observe, Mr.
able way (like fat Sir John Fals
dexterity in sinking) that you h
whole Books or Discourses, how p
soever, in a line or two, nay so

UMI

rtion; who but such an
fter an honest man had
restitution, not yet
so many pounds of
gain? Though J.O.
, yet methinks Mr. B.,
ould not neither 'have

x x x

Mr. Bayes, this admir-
Falstaffe's singular
you have of answering
how pithy and knotty
ay sometimes with a word."

UMI